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NOTE

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2521st MEETING

Held in New York on Tuesday, 27 March 1984, at 3.30 p.m.

President: Mr. Javier ARIAS STELLA (Peru).

Present: The representatives of the following States: China, Egypt, France, India, Malta, Netherlands, Nicaragua, Pakistan, Peru, Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic, Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland, United States of America, Upper Volta, Zimbabwe.

Provisional agenda (S/Agenda/2521)

1. Adoption of the agenda

2. Letter dated 18 March 1984 from the Permanent Representative of the Sudan to the United Nations addressed to the President of the Security Council (S/16420)

The meeting was called to order at 4.30 p.m.

Adoption of the agenda

The agenda was adopted.

Letter dated 18 March 1984 from the Permanent Representative of the Sudan to the United Nations addressed to the President of the Security Council (S/16420)

1. The PRESIDENT [*interpretation from Spanish*]: In accordance with the decisions taken at the 2520th meeting, I invite the Minister for Foreign Affairs of the Sudan and the Secretary of the People's Committee of the People's Bureau for Foreign Liaison of the Libyan Arab Jamahiriya to take places at the Council table; I invite the representatives of Benin, Nigeria, Oman and Zaire to take the places reserved for them at the side of the Council chamber.

At the invitation of the President, Mr. Mubarak (Sudan) and Mr. Treiki (Libyan Arab Jamahiriya) took places at the Council table; Mr. Ogouma (Benin), Mr. Garba (Nigeria), Mr. Ali (Oman) and Mr. N'Ji-Lamule (Zaire) took the places reserved for them at the side of the Council chamber.

2. The PRESIDENT [*interpretation from Spanish*]: I should like to inform members of the Council that I have received letters from the representatives of Chad and Indonesia in which they request to be invited to participate in the discussion of the item on the agenda. In accordance with the usual practice, I propose, with the consent of the Council, to invite those representatives to participate in the discussion without the right to vote, in conformity with the relevant provisions of the Charter and rule 37 of the Council's provisional rules of procedure.

At the invitation of the President, Mr. Barma (Chad) and Mr. Alatas (Indonesia) took the places reserved for them at the side of the Council chamber.

3. Mr. LOUET (France) [*interpretation from French*]: As other representatives who spoke before me, I should like to pay a tribute to the great African leader who has just passed away. President Sékou Touré has left his mark on the history of Africa, the Organization of African Unity (OAU) and the Movement of Non-Aligned Countries; indeed, we can say that he has left his mark on the history of the past 25 years as a whole. The French delegation wishes to convey its deepest condolences to the people and the Government of Guinea, as well as to the family of the deceased.

4. Since this is the first time I have spoken in a public meeting of the Council this month, I should like to extend to you, Sir, our congratulations on your assumption of the presidency of the Council. Your distinguished qualities as a diplomat and your seasoned experience in international life augurs well for very high-calibre discussions and assures us that our work will be guided in a way that will redound to the benefit of the international community.

5. May I also pay a tribute to your predecessor, Mr. Shah Nawaz, the representative of Pakistan, for the remarkable way in which he guided our work last month in particularly trying circumstances and for the tireless efforts he made to ensure that the Council could fully discharge its responsibilities.

6. My delegation listened very closely to the statement made this morning in the Council [*2520th meeting*] by Mr. Mirghani Mubarak, Minister for Foreign Affairs of the Democratic Republic of the Sudan. We were particularly interested to hear information which should help to clarify the precise circumstances surrounding the bombing of Omdurman and to determine who is responsible for it. We hope that the Council will be given the greatest number of additional pieces of information on this subject.

7. France is fully aware of the seriousness of what occurred in the Sudan on Friday, 16 March. We cannot

but condemn this act of violence, which could indeed affect peace and stability in a friendly country, which France hopes will shortly be able to overcome the difficulties it is now faced with free from any external interference from whatever quarter.

8. France believes that respect for this fundamental principle is an essential prerequisite in seeking to alleviate the tension threatening international peace and security in that part of the world. That is why France is gratified that the international community, represented by the Council, has resolved to voice its concern over these events. It is clear to my delegation that such a use of force, which is totally unjustified, can only lead to a very dangerous deterioration of the situation in an already troubled part of the world.

9. Mr. BASSOLE (Upper Volta) [*interpretation from French*]: Africa has just lost one of its most illustrious sons in the person of the late President Ahmed Sékou Touré of the People's Revolutionary Republic of Guinea. I wish to avail myself of this solemn occasion of a meeting of the Council to convey my delegation's heartfelt condolences to the Government of Guinea and its fraternal people, as well as to the family of the deceased eminent statesman. Africa will always remember with pride what has been accomplished by this man who, for more than 25 years now, had been able categorically to thwart imperialist inroads on the continent. History will remember him as a tireless defender of the liberation of oppressed peoples subject to colonial and imperialist domination.

10. At the outset I should like, Sir, to congratulate you most warmly on your assumption of the presidency of the Council for this month, which has not proved to be totally uneventful. The various requests made to the Council have made it possible for each of us, I have no doubt, to gauge and appreciate your distinguished qualities as a seasoned diplomat and intermediary.

11. Our congratulations go also to Mr. Shah Nawaz, the representative of Pakistan, for the competent way in which he presided over the work of the Council last month.

12. Turning to the situation which has led to the convening of the Council today, my delegation was extremely interested to read both the letter dated 18 March from the representative of the Sudan to the President of the Council [*S/16420*], and that of Mr. Ali Abdusalam Treiki, Secretary of the People's Committee of the People's Bureau for Foreign Affairs of the Libyan Arab Jamahiriya, addressed to the Secretary-General on 19 March [*S/16421*].

13. My delegation wishes to make it eminently clear that we decry the use of force in international relations. The Charter of the United Nations has laid down the procedures to be scrupulously followed by all States in settling disputes.

14. We sincerely condemn the bombing, on 16 March, of the town of Omdurman in the Sudan, as well as the ensuing loss of human life. Apart from the conflicting information contained in the two letters dealing with that air raid, the mass media have throughout the week focused the vigilant scrutiny of the international community on the events of 16 March. Yet the mass of available information makes it clear that there remains a certain amount of doubt about the accuracy of these assertions. Indeed, there has been no valid proof of the responsibility of the supposed aggressor. In one case, reference is made to a Tupolov TU-22 Soviet bomber and, in another, to a quite different type of plane. There are far too many questions that remain unanswered.

15. It is in this admittedly confused situation that the Security Council has to make its own contribution so that existing tensions in that part of the world may not lead to a conflict in which third parties might be induced to intervene, in particular certain major Powers. To that end the Council should, in my delegation's view, refrain from any hasty decision and should denounce any foreign intervention that might inflame passions.

16. That, at least, is the course my delegation has opted for, convinced as we are that it is the best way for the two fraternal States of the Sudan and the Libyan Arab Jamahiriya to avoid the use of force in their relations. Consequently we would make a pressing appeal to them not to insist on a decision but to allow the Council simply to consider the present issue.

17. The PRESIDENT [*interpretation from Spanish*]: The next speaker is the representative of Oman. I invite him to take a place at the Council table and to make his statement.

18. Mr. ALI (Oman) [*interpretation from Arabic*]: First of all, may I extend sincere condolences to the delegation of Guinea, on the passing of President Sékou Touré.

19. Since this is the first time I have spoken in the Council this month, I wish, on behalf of my delegation, Sir, to express to you our heartiest congratulations on your assumption of the presidency of the Council for this month. My delegation is convinced that the Council's work will be crowned with success under your wise leadership.

20. I should like also to express my appreciation of the wisdom and experience of your predecessor, Mr. Shah Nawaz of Pakistan, in his conduct of the Council's affairs last month.

21. My thanks also go to the members of the Council for giving my delegation an opportunity to participate in its discussions on the complaint of a fraternal Arab country, the Sudan, regarding the air raid on the city of Omdurman.

22. My delegation listened with interest to the statement of the Minister for Foreign Affairs of the Sudan on

the circumstances surrounding the air raid on Omdurman, against the backdrop of numerous instances of interference to which the Sudan has been and is still being subjected by certain of its neighbours in order to destabilize that peaceful non-aligned country.

23. On many occasions and in all international bodies, Oman has stressed the need to maintain international peace and security, so that good relations between countries may flourish. All Member States must respect the principles of the Charter of the United Nations, in particular that of non-interference in the internal affairs of other countries. They must also refrain from the threat or use of force against the territorial integrity or political independence of any other State. Chapter VI of the Charter stipulates that all international conflicts must be resolved by peaceful means.

24. The premeditated air raid against the Sudan only indicates that certain neighbouring countries still insist on interfering in the Sudan's internal affairs; indeed, that intervention was but one link in a chain of many such acts against the Sudan by those countries in the past. That act of aggression against the territorial integrity and sovereignty of a Member State was a flagrant violation of all principles of the Charter and of the charters of the regional organizations. It was also a violation of international law.

25. The Sultanate of Oman shares the concern of the Democratic Republic of the Sudan over the continuing intervention in its internal affairs. The Council must take appropriate action to put an end to that policy, since further acts of intervention will bring about a regional war and encourage others to act similarly against their neighbours.

26. In conclusion, the Sultanate of Oman strongly condemns the premeditated air raid against the fraternal Sudan and reaffirms its support for the Sudan in its endeavours to protect its territorial integrity and independence.

27. The PRESIDENT [*interpretation from Spanish*]: The next speaker is the representative of Benin. I invite him to take a place at the Council table and to make his statement.

28. Mr. OGOUMA (Benin) [*interpretation from French*]: Mr. President, before I speak to the item before us, I should like to discharge a sad duty. The fraternal people of Guinea are today mourning the supreme leader of the Guinean Revolution, President Ahmed Sékou Touré, a great leader and a great patriot who always represented the incarnation of the profound aspirations of his people and of the third world in general. President Sékou Touré was one of the foremost pioneers of black Africa's struggle for independence, sovereignty and social progress. A tireless worker in the building of revolutionary Guinea, the man of the historic "No" of 28 September 1958, he was the intimate friend and comrade-in-arms of the people of Benin. We shall never forget that in our people's difficult moments in January 1977 he was one of the first to send to Cotonou a contingent of Guinean volunteers to fight side by side with us. The People's Republic of Benin shares and associates itself with the grief of the people of Guinea. Hence I should like, through you, Sir, to transmit to the fraternal people of Guinea, on behalf of the people of Benin, its Party, its National Executive Council and its great fighter, President Mathieu Kérékou, our deepest condolences and profound sympathy. We are convinced that the death of this great man will further galvanize the Guinean people in their daily struggle for full development.

29. May I say how grateful I am for the signal honour you have done me by allowing me to speak on behalf of the People's Republic of Benin before the representatives of the States members of the Council. May I say how pleased the delegation of Benin is to see you presiding over the work of the Council this month. Your great talents as a diplomat and your wealth of experience have reinforced our conviction that our debate on this matter will be guided with the objectivity and effectiveness it deserves.

30. Finally, I should like to congratulate your predecessor, Mr. Shah Nawaz of Pakistan, for the extremely skilful way in which he guided the work of the Council last month.

31. Just over a year ago, some felt it their duty to alert international public opinion and the Council to what they called a further example of the threat which the policies of the Libyan Government posed to international peace and security.

32. It will be recalled that Libya, at that time, was accused of having massed planes along its own borders, thus striking fear and panic into the hearts of some of its neighbours. It was not long before some, reacting swiftly in their role of righter of wrongs and international policeman, sent radar planes and an aircraft-carrier into that region and to the very coast of Libya.

33. Despite this show of force, it does not seem to me that convincing evidence has to date been provided to lend any credibility to the threats that Libya was then supposed to have aimed at its neighbour, the Sudan. What we do recall, on the other hand, is that it was indeed Libya which reported to the Council the serious threats and military provocations of which it was the victim. The debate on that complaint, the Council will recall, was extremely edifying.

34. Thus, had it not been for the pressure of world public opinion, some might have taken unwarranted steps against the Libyan Arab Jamahiriya on the basis of the mere presumption of something that had not even been dreamed of, let alone begun to have been implemented.

35. Today, Libya is not accused of presumption. It is no longer a question of motives. It has been accused of

having actually launched on 16 March from Kufra base in the south of Libya a plane, a Tupolev TU-22 bomber, which after an unaccompanied flight of several thousand kilometres is alleged to have bombed the city of Omdurman in the Sudan.

36. These are serious charges which the Council is duty-bound to consider with all the seriousness and objectivity that have always characterized its decisions. We have no doubt of the difficulties facing the Council, and we readily understand its caution in the light of the denials of the defendant, on the one hand, and the lack of proof provided by the accuser, on the other.

37. Thus the Libyan Arab Jamahiriya rejects the accusations from some quarters against it, and the arguments it has put forward are valid. It has not stopped short at refuting what the delegation of Benin will continue to call the allegations of its accusers until the contrary is proved. It has paid special attention to demonstrating why, since the advent of the present revolutionary régime in Libya, all sorts of plots have been hatched by international imperialism to bring the people of Libya to their knees again, thus preventing them from devoting themselves to their huge task of development and national reconstruction.

38. In this sorry affair which has pitted two African countries against each other, the People's Revolutionary Republic of Benin does not intend to take sides, unless it be on the side of objectivity and justice. Indeed, that objectivity and justice impel us to consider precisely what credibility can be given to the accusers. Are not these accusers the very people who have not sought to conceal their anti-Libyan sentiments and who consider the Libyan Arab Jamahiriya as public enemy number one opposed to their unavowed designs on the African continent? What credibility can be given to an accusation that is devoid of any proof of what is charged? It is not enough to make assertions; it is necessary to give convincing proof.

39. In this connection it must be recognized that the accusers have been guilty of the most blatant levity. Everything seems to indicate that this is simply a machiavellian plot hatched by international imperialism and its agents against the Libyan Arab Jamahiriya.

40. To those who do not intend to listen only to one side, to those who do not intend to remain prisoners of prejudice, if only for the sake of simple honesty, we recommend reading the articles on the issue in *The Times* of London of 20 March, *The Christian Science Monitor* of 21 March and *Le Monde* of 23 March. Those newspapers, one of which is British, one American and one French, and which are far from nurturing pro-Libyan feelings, nevertheless make a clear and edifying analysis of this matter. Guided by our concern not to intervene in the internal affairs of other countries, particularly fraternal ones, we shall refrain from quoting the most edifying passages which explain very well the sorry state of affairs facing the peoples of the third world today. The peoples of Nicaragua, Libya, Benin and so many other countries who wish to remain the sole masters of their fate are unfortunately the daily victims of subversive attempts at destabilization on the part of international imperialism, thus preventing them from firmly committing themselves to the building of societies of their own choosing.

41. It is thus easy to see that international imperialism has formed a coalition in order to carry out a campaign of defamation and discredit against the Libyan Arab Jamahiriya, creating for the benefit of the international community an alibi for jeopardizing Libya's security. We can therefore understand why this matter, which would seem to bring two African brothers into conflict, has not previously been submitted to arbitration—either before the African regional organization, OAU, or before the League of Arab States, of which both the Sudan and Libya are members—in accordance with Article 52, paragraphs 1 to 3, of the Charter of the United Nations. Paragraph 2 of that Article states that

> "The Members of the United Nations entering into such arrangements or constituting such agencies shall make every effort to achieve pacific settlement of local disputes through such regional arrangements or by such regional agencies before referring them to the Security Council."

42. In a little more than a year, the Libyan Arab Jamahiriya has thus unjustly been the object of two unfounded accusations. Apart from the prejudice manifested against that country, the prestige of the Council is at stake. There must be an end to these manipulations, which are diverting the Council from its noble task.

43. The Council should make it clear to those who continue to seek a scapegoat for their problems that the solution to those problems cannot be found from outside, but will rather be found by taking into account the higher interests of their peoples. The Council should remind the real warmongers in the region and throughout the world of the immutable principles on which the Organization is founded: non-interference in the internal affairs of other States, peaceful settlement of disputes and the non-use or threat of use of force in international relations.

44. Ready for the revolution; the struggle continues!

45. Mrs. KIRKPATRICK (United States of America): Mr. President, I should like to begin by congratulating you on your accession to the presidency, expressing the confidence which my country and its Government have in your judgement, your skill and the sense of justice with which you can be relied upon to conduct the affairs of the Council, and, indeed, our satisfaction with the efficiency and fairness with which you have already this month conducted the affairs of the Council.

46. I have already expressed, I think, my Government's great satisfaction with and approval of the skill and style and effectiveness with which your predecessor, the representative of Pakistan, served as President of the Council last month.

47. I should also, like other speakers today, like to express the deep grief of my Government and myself at the untimely and unexpected death of President Sékou Touré of Guinea, and our profound sympathy with the Government and the people of that country. President Sékou Touré's distinction as an African leader, a leader in the struggle for independence, a distinguished nation-builder, is very well known. We share that worldwide evaluation of his great gifts. We are certain the world will be poorer for his departure.

48. We are here today to consider yet another sad development in the contemporary history of Africa. We are here today to consider another episode in Colonel Qaddafi's escalating war against the world: the unprovoked attack against the Sudan on 16 March. Despite the web of lies and fabrications presented to the Council this morning, the facts surrounding the dismal attack are clear. Ample evidence is available to support these facts.

49. On 15 March, two Libyan TU-22 bombers flew from their home base at Umm Aitiqah in Tripoli to Kufra. On 16 March, one of these TU-22s conducted an unprovoked attack on the Sudan's second largest city, Omdurman, which is well within the combat radius of Libya's TU-22s. This bombing attack, which was conducted from a very low altitude, was witnessed by several qualified observers. The radio station was damaged and five persons were killed. The bombs utilized were an export model of a Soviet 500-kilogram general-purpose high-explosive bomb, the M-62, with AVU-series impact-detonating nose fuse. Flying over the north-western Sudan, the TU-22 bomber returned to Libya. The next day, both TU-22s, which had deployed to Kufra, had returned to their home base at Umm Aitiqah.

50. The TU-22 is a very distinctive plane. It looks like no other aircraft in the region. Libya is the only country in the region which possesses the Soviet-built TU-22 bombers. There is no way to disguise any other plane to look like a TU-22. Its range is entirely adequate to make the trip from Kufra to Omdurman. It was closely observed, both in travelling and in bombing. It was photographed.

51. The facts are clear, despite a certain international effort to obscure them. Truth is not a matter of political will, nor can reality be obscured by the will to confuse, humiliate, destroy. The Libyans have demonstrated in the last decade that they are masters of violence. Today, they demonstrate that they are promising apprentices in deception. Their leader speaks frankly about his commitments and his plans. His representative today has sacrificed candour to strategic obfuscation. An innocent auditor hearing the Libyan representative this morning might have thought that the Sudan threatens its neighbours and conspires against them. Having misfired with his bombs, the Libyan representative took up the weapon of lies, taunting his neighbour for its poverty, flaunting Libya's oil revenues as if they reflected national virtue. It was the first time in my years in the Council that I have heard a third-world country reproached and shamed for being poor.

52. Efforts to sow doubt about the identity, origin and ownership of the plane serve as one more example of the practice of wrapping aggression in lies designed to obscure the aggressor's role and deprive the victim of deserved sympathy and redress. It has become a familiar pattern: a violent assault, a denial of complicity, a suggestion that the violence is of purely internal origin, a vicious attack on anyone who seeks to aid the victim; Soviet weapons, Libyan planes, dead civilians, disinformation and intimidation.

53. What happened is clear. It is also possible to understand why. Colonel Qaddafi denies the bombing at Omdurman, but he admits freely and frankly his plans. "The battle has now become overt, and not covert" between him and his enemies, he told the world on the 2 March anniversary of his current régime. The speech on that occasion is fascinating; it deserves attention. In it, Colonel Qaddafi brags, celebrates, gloats, threatens. He is full of self-congratulation for those who worked to subvert the independence of Lebanon and its legitimate Government: "We worked for months, day and night. We and the Syrians and the Palestinians and the Lebanese ... have been working ... to achieve this victory." So much for the theory of purely Lebanese dissension. If things do not go as desired, he comments, "the struggle will continue with guns, with machine guns, with bombs ... until the last man and woman." So much for the idea of a political rather than a military solution in Lebanon. He gloats: "A great victory", he said, was achieved against America, France, Italy and Britain. Listen to his words:

> "The defeat which the Americans suffered in Lebanon is not less than its defeat in Viet Nam, and the strike which was directed against the French forces in Lebanon is not less than the historic strike which was directed against them at Dien Bien Phu." President Reagan, he said, "lost his nerve", was "forced to concede defeat", to "flee like a rat".

54. Colonel Qaddafi invoked Arab nationalism to justify his attacks on Arab nations. He affirmed in the clearest words his intentions with regard to the Sudan:

> "We tell the agents in the Sudan that we are allied with the popular revolution in the southern Sudan for the sake of liberating the Sudan inch by inch", just as Lebanon was liberated. The United States cannot save that mean man who is hiding in Khartoum. This is because we and the revolutionary force in Ethiopia, in the Arab homeland, the revolution in Libya,

have decided to ally ourselves with the revolution in the southern Sudan for the sake of liberating the Sudan inch by inch.

"The morale of the popular masses has strengthened as a result of America's defeat in Lebanon at the hands of the Lebanese popular resistance and the steadfastness of Syria and the Iranian-Libyan revolutionary alliance with the Lebanese revolution.

"The peoples will march forward and will develop the people's war of liberation in the Sudan, and tomorrow in Egypt, and in every part that America seeks to dominate, to use for serving the interests of the American people."

55. Colonel Qaddafi threatens war "on a hundred fronts all over the earth": "We must escalate the people's liberation war in Latin America and in Central America, so that we may force America to fight there ..." and in Lebanon, the Sudan, Somalia, Chad and southern Africa. He celebrates violence: "Let the masses' march begin to give a push forward to the revolution and consolidate the concept of the master people and the commanding people ..." "All shall carry arms ...". "We carry the shovel in one hand and the gun in the other." Women will not be kept from military training, and anyone who opposes women's military training is "an agent of imperialism ... whether he knows it or not."

56. Even in this violent age we are not accustomed to hearing such bold assertions of the intention to use violence, world-wide, to achieve political goals. The practice of terror and violence is more familiar in our time than is its frank affirmation. But in the case of Colonel Qaddafi, such frank affirmation of violence is not new. As we pointed out three years ago, he is quite forthright. On 2 March 1981, he said:

"It is the duty of the Libyan people constantly to liquidate their opponents. The physical and final liquidation of the opponents of popular authority must continue at home and abroad, everywhere."

57. The announcement made in Tripoli in August 1981 of the desire to "undertake the physical liquidation of" hostile individuals, "beginning with Ronald Reagan", defies either response or comment. But the words of March 1984 echo and expand it. They were not idle words. They were part of a new, violent phase. Despite certain foreign policy successes and his continued ostensible accommodation with a few of the moderate Arab States, Colonel Qaddafi has within the past few months begun to devote more energy to using terrorism and subversion against his domestic and foreign enemies. The outright use of terror was observed on 10 March in two widely separated areas—Britain and Chad—followed by the bombing of the Omdurman radio/television station on 16 March. Twenty-six persons were wounded when several bombs exploded and others were defused in London and Manchester on 10 and 12 March. On 10 March, two bombs planted in the hold of a French passenger jet *en route* from Brazzaville and Bangui to N'Djamena and Paris destroyed the aircraft on the ground at N'Djamena. Twenty-five people were wounded.

58. In his pursuit of expanded power and influence, Colonel Qaddafi has repeatedly employed tactics of assassination and violence, demonstrating that he is unconstrained by international law as he is by accepted standards of international conduct. He has sought the assassination of moderate leaders and Libyan exiles by financing known terrorists and by providing terrorist training in Libya on a continuing basis. The habits are of long standing.

59. The appeals of hatred, however, have their limits. After 10 years in power, Colonel Qaddafi had still largely failed to stir the popular support he continually invokes. In 1977, he had established "revolutionary committees", groups charged with injecting the appropriate revolutionary fervour into the existing "people's committees" and into the armed forces, but they have never been particularly active. In 1980, Colonel Qaddafi sought to use them to orchestrate massive purges and corruption trials involving thousands of arrests, including influential businessmen, high Government officials and senior military officers. Those arrested were tried before special tribunals composed of revolutionary committee members and sentenced; some, after dramatic televised "confessions", were released; others vanished.

60. At the same time, the régime launched a campaign to intimidate dissidents abroad. Libyan hit squads embarked on a series of murders of exiled Libyans in an overall effort to enforce their views at all costs. Eleven people were killed—four in Rome, two in London, one each in Bonn, Beirut, Athens, Milan and Manchester. Several others were wounded, including a student in the United States and two children in England. In October 1982, Colonel Qaddafi once again publicly warned Libyan exiles to repent and return home or face a renewal of the murder campaign.

61. Virtually all African and Arab moderate régimes are targets of Libyan-supported subversion. Unable to persuade or bribe other States into submitting to a Qaddafi-led "Islamic revolution", unable to use his army to force stronger States to submit to his will, he has armed, funded and trained a wide range of dissident groups to achieve his ends. Subversion has become the principal tool by which he hopes to fulfil his ambitions.

62. Libyan subversive activities range far beyond neighbouring States. Libya is a potential source of funds, arms and safe haven for virtually any group claiming to be anti-Israel or anti-United States. His focus is on the Middle East and Africa, but he has been active in Europe and the Far East and has recently supported anti-United States régimes and subversive groups in Latin America. In some cases Libyan

activity takes the form of hand-outs to individuals or small groups of dissidents. In several instances it has involved sustained support, with substantial payments and deliveries of military equipment. Subversive groups also frequently receive military training in Libya, where thousands of dissidents are being trained either in special camps created for the purpose or at Libyan bases. Most of the dissidents come from countries neighbouring Libya, but they are also drawn from further afield. The training programme relies heavily on foreign instructors, including Soviets, Palestinians, Cubans, East Germans, as well as Tunisians, Egyptians and other foreigners who help train dissidents from their own country or region. Subversion continues to be Colonel Qaddafi's principal *modus operandi* to expand his domain and gain wider African influence, although he is increasingly prone to use military intervention as well. The Sudan is an early intended victim.

63. Beyond the Sudan and Chad, the most immediate objects of Libya's aggression, lie Egypt, Algeria, the Niger, Tunisia, Morocco, Mauritius, Somalia, Togo, the Central African Republic, Liberia, the Upper Volta and every independent nation in Africa. All have at one time or another inspired the ambitions of this ambitious ruler. Each has at one time or another been a target. The independence of his neighbours is felt by Colonel Qaddafi as a personal affront.

64. Libya's record of subversion, assassination, terror is clear. It is grim. It challenges civilization. The Libyan record provides an interesting example of the difference between ideology and process. Colonel Qaddafi's creed of Islamic unity masks an overriding ambition for the expansion of Libyan territory and of his own power.

65. In organizing, promoting, recruiting, perpetuating violence and terror—against airline passengers, diplomats, civilian passers-by, heads of State, neighbouring peoples—with its pursuit of political goals by the methods of violence, Libya works to destroy the distinctions between war and peace, between civilian and combatant, between politics and crime.

66. The world should take careful note of these words and acts of the Libyan Government. They clarify the threats to peace, independence, self-government with which so many countries must live, the threats to peace and security with which we are all burdened. Meanwhile, we should offer the Sudan our support in its efforts to secure from this Council protection against aggression, to which the Charter of the United Nations entitles it.

67. The PRESIDENT [*interpretation from Spanish*]: The next speaker is the representative of Nigeria. I invite him to take a place at the Council table and to make his statement.

68. Mr. GARBA (Nigeria): At the outset, permit me to pay a tribute to an illustrious son of Africa who has just passed away, the late President Sékou Touré of Guinea. President Sékou Touré will be remembered as a great African statesman, for his dynamic role in the formation of OAU and for his relentless fight for the liberation of Africa, particularly southern Africa. On behalf of my delegation, I should like, through the delegation of Guinea, to express deepest condolences to the people of Guinea and the family of the late President Sékou Touré on this sad and great loss.

69. Mr. President, since this is the first time I have spoken before the Council, I wish to congratulate you on your assumption of the presidency of the Council. My delegation is confident that, with your wide experience, accomplishments and diplomatic skills, you will handle the affairs of the Council creditably.

70. I should also like to congratulate your predecessor, the representative of Pakistan, on the able manner in which he conducted the affairs of the Council last month.

71. The matter of which the Council is now seized is of great concern to my country since it relates to differences between the Sudan and Libya, two brotherly countries with which Nigeria enjoys warm and cordial relations. As a great champion and promoter of African unity and co-operation, Nigeria cannot afford to remain indifferent to any developments in any part of our great continent that are likely to lead to further tension in the region or that may have possible repercussions for international peace and security. We accordingly feel strongly that any such developments should be addressed promptly, in a fair and balanced manner, before they assume dangerous proportions within the region.

72. It is in this regard that Nigeria appeals to both the Sudan and Libya to seek solutions to their immediate differences within the established and recognized principles of international relations as well as in accordance with the Charter of the United Nations and the charter of the Organization of African Unity. In particular we would urge both Libya and the Sudan to avail themselves of the existing mechanism for the peaceful settlement of intra-African disputes as established by OAU.

73. My country would like to appeal to the international community not to exacerbate the tension between Libya and the Sudan by further exploiting and magnifying the differences that have given rise to it. We therefore urge all Member States to accelerate and contribute to a climate of understanding and dialogue between Libya and the Sudan.

74. In conclusion, I should like to convey, through you, Mr. President, to both our brothers in the Sudan and Libya that Nigeria stands ready to be of any assistance ... the search for a peaceful resolution of the present misunderstanding between them.

75. Mr. van der STOEL (Netherlands): At the outset, allow me to convey through you, Mr. President, to the

people and the Government of Guinea my country's condolences on the death of President Ahmed Sékou Touré.

76. Before I continue, may I add my voice to those who have congratulated you, Sir, on your assumption of the presidency of the Council and say how happy we are to see presiding over our debate today the representative of a country with which the Netherlands enjoys excellent relations in so many fields. In the brief period during which you have served on the Council, we, as other members, have already had ample opportunity to appreciate your great abilities as a diplomat and your qualities as a colleague and friend.

77. Equally, I wish to express our appreciation for the—may I say not unexpectedly—exemplary manner in which your predecessor, the representative of Pakistan, carried out his duties during the month of February.

78. The Council has before it a complaint by the Sudan concerning a bombing raid against the town of Omdurman carried out on 16 March. According to information provided by the Sudan [*S/16419 and S/16420*], this tragic incident caused five deaths, as well as many wounded, among the town's population; the attacking aircraft was identified as a Libyan Tupolev TU-22 bomber, which reportedly had taken off from an airfield near Kufra, in southern Libya.

79. In a letter dated 19 March [*see S/16421*], the Libyan Minister for Foreign Affairs emphatically denied any involvement by his country in the air raid on Omdurman. This information was repeated in the statements made by the Ministers for Foreign Affairs of the Sudan and Libya in the course of this debate [*2520th meeting*], to which we have listened carefully.

80. The Netherlands strongly condemns the bombing attack on Omdurman and deeply deplores the loss of life and the destruction of property caused by the raid. Clearly, there are many indications that the air raid was indeed carried out by a Tupolev TU-22, as the Sudan has informed us. Furthermore, we know that, of the countries known to possess Tupolev TU-22s, only Libya has airfields within striking range of Omdurman. In this connection, my delegation wishes to state unequivocally that the Netherlands considers all outside intervention in the Sudan's internal affairs contrary to the principles of the Charter of the United Nations and completely unacceptable. The political independence, sovereignty and territorial integrity of the Sudan must be scrupulously respected.

81. Following his reply to the Sudanese complaint, the representative of Libya, in his letters of 20 and 22 March [*S/16425 and S/16431*], alleged that the decision of the Government of the United States to send aircraft and weapons to a country adjacent to Libya constituted a violation of the Charter and represented a threat to international peace and security. In our view, that complaint does not seem justified. Statements by spokesmen of the parties concerned have made it abundantly clear that the measures referred to in the letter of the Libya representative are meant solely to enable the Sudan—which lacks adequate air defences of its own—to prevent any repetition of the grave incident that occurred on 16 March. As the Charter specifically mentions the right of individual or collective self-defence if a State is the object of armed attack—as was the case on 16 March—until the Security Council has taken measures to maintain international peace and security, we believe that there is no ground for the fears expressed by the Libyan representative.

82. Regardless of the nature of the political dispute that pits two countries against each other, they are in duty bound by the Charter and the Declaration on Principles of International Law concerning Friendly Relations and Co-operation among States in accordance with the Charter of the United Nations [*General Assembly resolution 2625 (XXV), annex*] to refrain from threats or the use of force and to settle their disputes by peaceful means. These principles have lost none of their validity for being so frequently cited. In our opinion, it is the duty of the Council to infuse these principles with meaning by prevailing on the parties concerned to cease immediately all forms of outside intervention.

83. In the interest of regional peace and stability, all parties should carefully avoid fanning the flames of conflict with inflammatory statements and strive to solve their disputes in a spirit of good-neighbourliness and mutual respect. It is our sincere hope that it will be possible for the Council to make a significant contribution to that end during this debate.

84. Mr. TROYANOVSKY (Union of Soviet Socialist Republics) [*interpretation from Russian*]: The delegation of the Soviet Union would like to express its deep condolences in connection with the passing away of the President of the People's Revolutionary Republic of Guinea, Mr. Sékou Touré, who was known to the entire world as an active and consistent advocate of the final elimination of the remnants of colonialism from the African continent, for the unity and solidarity of the countries of Africa, and one of the founders of the Movement of Non-Aligned Countries.

85. The Soviet delegation would like to join in the words of welcome addressed to you, Sir, on your assumption of the presidency of the Council and the wishes for success in carrying out these activities during the remaining days of March. We should also like to pay a deserved tribute to the representative of Pakistan, Mr. Shah Nawaz, for the deft way in which he managed the Council's work last month.

86. The Soviet delegation has listened very closely to the statements made in the Council, including those by the Ministers for Foreign Affairs of the Sudan and the Libyan Arab Jamahiriya. The discussion which has

taken place and the statements made by a number of delegations, including the very cogent arguments adduced by Mr. Ali Treiki, have largely corroborated our misgivings about the propriety of considering this matter in the Council. This approach has been further prompted by a number of reports in the Western press which, now when the details are beginning to be known about the development of events, have painted a totally different picture of what occurred. These reports have called into question quite clearly the version of the events put forward by the country which originally brought this matter up in the Council.

87. An unbiased look at the situation reveals that, if there were goodwill on the part of both sides and a genuine desire to approach it constructively, we could expect that a mutually acceptable resolution could be found to the questions which have arisen between these two neighbouring countries. However, recent events have confirmed something quite different. These events were immediately seized upon by those who are anxious to step up their military presence and political control in that part of the world in order to interfere in the affairs of sovereign States.

88. The main point is that the forces of imperialism are ready to utilize any pretext, any artificially contrived or provoked conflict, in order to flex their military muscle and impose their will on young non-aligned States. Without any delay, and as if completely affirming the version of the previously planned and co-ordinated operation, Washington announced that it was sending reconnaissance AWACS aircraft and other air forces to the region. Since new military preparations were embarked upon, large supplies of weapons had to be dispatched immediately to the countries of the region. It is no secret that part of the mission of the American aircraft is to carry out espionage operations against Libya.

89. All these actions have been accompanied by overt threats against, and blunt and abrupt verbal flagellation of, a sovereign Member State. An example of this is the statement made today by the representative of the United States. One gets the impression that some have developed a sort of conditioned reflex: as soon as the word "Libya" is uttered, they start to bare their teeth and lose all sense of restraint. Of course, we shall have occasion to speak about this in more detail when the Council takes up the question raised by Libya [*S/16431*].

90. The Soviet Union would like to see the fraternal Arab countries settle their disputes and differences first and foremost in the framework of regional organizations and, naturally, without any imperialist intervention from outside. We earnestly hope that future events will develop along those very lines.

91. Sir John THOMSON (United Kingdom): I should like to follow other members of the Council and express my Government's deep sympathy to the people of Guinea upon the sad news of the death of their President, Mr. Ahmed Sékou Touré. The friendly relations which the United Kingdom enjoys with Guinea were marked only last month by the visit to Conakry of the Minister of States responsible for African Affairs, Mr. Malcolm Rifkin, who had the privilege of a most valuable meeting with the late President. President Sékou Touré, was at that time looking forward to assuming the distinguished office of Chairman of OAU, and his loss will be keenly felt not only in Guinea but throughout Africa.

92. Mr. President, it gives me much pleasure to congratulate both you and your predecessor on the outstanding way in which you have both conducted the affairs of the Council. I think that in the diplomatic alphabet, the letter P may justly stand for President, and I note that Pakistan and Peru uphold the highest standards of this P—for—President tradition. I should like to say in particular that both of you have shown outstanding skill in negotiations. That, I think, is something which the Council is very much in need of, and we should like to see it practised more.

93. The Minister for Foreign Affairs of the Sudan, a country with which the United Kingdom has traditional friendly relations, has brought a serious charge to the Council. He has placed it in the context of a long history of difficult relations between his Government and that of the Libyan Arab Jamahiriya. It is the duty of the Council to give his complaint and the answer to it a serious and reasoned hearing.

94. The Foreign Minister has stressed that the immediate cause of the Sudan's approach to the Council is an incident which took place on 16 March, when a Libyan aircraft bombed the Sudanese town of Omdurman. The bombing resulted in the deaths of five people and injury of several more, as well as significant physical damage.

95. This incident is quite clearly a most deplorable act of violence. The use of violence, not only in the Sudan but elsewhere in the Middle East, has, regrettably, become all too frequent. But there is no justification for it. My Government has no hesitation in condemning such violence. May I also convey our sincere condolences to the families of the innocent people who have been so wantonly killed and injured.

96. The existence of a dispute between the Sudan and Libya is self-evident. The applicability of Article 2 of the Charter of the United Nations in such a case is equally self-evident. There is a binding obligation on all Member States to settle their disputes by peaceful means. They are bound also to refrain in their international relations from the threat or use of force against the territorial integrity or political independence of any State. But over and above Article 2, we need to remind ourselves also of what is said in the Preamble to the Charter. It is worth quoting exactly. "We the peoples of the United Nations [are] determined ... to practice tolerance and live together in peace with one another as good neighbours".

97. As you know, Mr. President, my delegation sought to encourage an exchange of views between the Sudan and Libya through quiet diplomacy and through your own good offices.

98. Violence is the antithesis of this tolerance and good-neighbourliness. It destroys the trust on which all neighbourly relations must be built. It seldom even achieves its own malevolent aims. As we have seen so often in the Middle East and elsewhere, it leads only to more violence. And it is the innocent who suffer.

99. In any lengthy dispute the facts will eventually speak for themselves. There may be doubt for some time, but in the end they become evident even to the most sceptical. Governments are rightly judged by what is revealed. Their reputations will gain or suffer by the outcome. The value of their word will be recognized by the extent to which it is found to be true. The value of their pledges will be measured by the extent to which they are seen to be kept.

100. States which practise subversion, even though they may deny it, are bound in the longer run to acquire a bad reputation. They may create risks for security. They are certainly damaging international relations and thus undermining the structure of the United Nations.

101. My Government considers that in this case, as in all others, it is the duty of Member States to uphold the Charter. This applies to Article 2 as to all other articles. We shall continue to follow the matter with close attention. We expect the Council to do so also.

102. Mr. CHAMORRO MORA (Nicaragua) [*interpretation from Spanish*]: First of all, we should like to express our condolences over the irreparable loss of Mr. Sékou Touré, President of the People's Revolutionary Republic of Guinea, the Movement of Non-Aligned Countries and the third world have lost a tireless fighter for national independence and against colonialism. Let us hope that Sékou Touré's spirit will illuminate us now as we deal with a problem in which two African countries are pitted against each other.

103. Allow me to voice our pleasure, Sir, at seeing you occupying the presidency of the Council for this month. Your long diplomatic experience and the ability and intelligence you have shown in the conduct of your country's foreign affairs are virtues from which the Council and the international community have begun to benefit and augur well for the success of the Council's work.

104. Our thanks go also to Mr. Shah Nawaz of Pakistan for the wise and prudent manner in which he conducted the difficult affairs of the Council during his presidency last month.

105. While discussing the present item we cannot forget the many difficult, intractable problems facing Africa: The unresolved Namibian issue; the persistent acts of aggression; South African *apartheid*; the colonial legacy of tribal and religious conflicts; and the tension resulting from the grave economic crisis which not only has devastated the weak economies of the third world but has increased social tensions. Indeed, we know the origin of that crisis and the reasons for it. In addition, however, there is an ever more active and disruptive military presence on the part of the imperialist United States, which has set itself up as judge and master of the destiny of mankind.

106. We do not wish to analyse in detail the Sudan's allegations. The Sudan is a fraternal country, a member of the Movement of Non-Aligned Countries and a Member of the United Nations. It is a small, poor country like ours whose right to come to this forum cannot be challenged. Furthermore, our responsibility as a member of the Council is to try to foster a peaceful settlement of international disputes or conflicts and not to complicate them further. For that reason the words uttered by Mr. Ali Treiki, Secretary of the People's Committee of the People's Bureau for Foreign Liaison of the Libyan Arab Jamahiriya, are encouraging. This morning [*2520th meeting*] he stated, *inter alia*, that his country had nothing against the Sudan and that he was perfectly willing to discuss the issue through peaceful and diplomatic channels. Nicaragua has excellent relations with the Libyan Arab Jamahiriya. We are confident of the wisdom and maturity of the leaders of the Libyan Revolution and we trust their affirmations. If we add to that the legal instruments, experience and potential of the African continent, we do not have cause to be discouraged.

107. Recently the American press reported on the Congressional debate concerning the United States Administration request for the appropriation of $114 million to continue its policy of death and destruction in Central America: $21 million to continue its dirty undeclared war against my country through the use of mercenaries hired by the Central Inteiligence Agency of the United States, and the remaining $93 million to increase military assistance to El Salvador. For my country and delegation it was doubly distressing to learn that these millions which the United States Administration is trying to get from Congress would in a sense be taken from the mouths of the millions of starving African children for whom that money was originally earmarked.

108. We hope that this simple example will help our African brothers appreciate who their true enemies are and where the basic cause of their problems lays. We know from our own experience the capacity of imperialism to provoke conflicts in neighbouring countries whenever it considers its political or security interests threatened, be it in Africa, the Middle East or Central America.

109. The PRESIDENT [*interpretation from Spanish*]: The next speaker is the representative of Indonesia. I invite him to take a place at the Council table and to make his statement.

110. Mr. ALATAS (Indonesia): Allow me to preface my statement by expressing the sense of deep regret and sorrow of my Government and delegation upon learning the news of the passing of Ahmed Sékou Touré, President of the People's Revolutionary Republic of Guinea. We convey our sincere condolences to the delegation of Guinea, and through it to the Government and people of Guinea, as well as to the bereft family. President Sékou Touré's death is an irreparable loss not only to his countrymen and the continent of Africa, but also to the Movement of Non-Aligned Countries, the Organization of African Unity and the Organization of the Islamic Conference, which revered him as one of their founding fathers and as an indomitable fighter for independence, peace and justice in the world.

111. Let me begin by extending to you, Sir, the warm congratulations of my delegation on your assumption of the presidency of the Council for this month. Your proven diplomatic skills and experience in various international forums gives us confidence that the Council's deliberations on this issue will be conducted in such a way as to ensure their success. I should also like to pay a high tribute to Mr. Shah Nawaz of Pakistan for the exemplary manner in which he guided the Council's work during the busy and difficult month of February. Allow me also to express our gratitude to the members of the Council for giving my delegation the opportunity to address this body.

112. Indonesia's participation in the Council's debate today is prompted by my Government's deepening concern at the continuing deterioration of the international security situation brought about by a rising incidence of conflict and strife in many regions of the world. The resort to force in settling disputes and in meeting perceived threats is assuming more alarming proportions than ever before, despite all provisions of the Charter of the United Nations to the contrary. Increasingly, regional conflict situations are being drawn into the cast of East-West rivalry among the major Powers, thus further complicating their eventual solution and enlarging the risk of world-wide escalation. Illustrative of this distressing trend is the situation obtaining in the region of north Africa, which continues to be embroiled in discord and dissension among neighbouring States. As a result, the struggle to consolidate political independence and sovereignty and to ensure truly autonomous economic and social growth is being seriously retarded.

113. The atmosphere of mutual mistrust and mutual recrimination and the increasing propensity to armed hostilities has turned regions such as north Africa into a focal point of international concern. The volatility of the situation in the area is underscored by the latest act of violence involving the bombing attack against the Sudanese town of Omdurman on 16 March, which has only served further to aggravate the security situation in the region. We deplore the attack and deeply regret the resultant death and injury of innocent civilians and the destruction of property.

114. The Indonesian Government views this unfortunate incident as a most disturbing development, as it stands in clear contravention of the provisions of the Charter relating to respect for the independence, sovereignty and territorial integrity of States and to the inadmissibility of the use or threat of force. My delegation reiterates its unswerving commitment to these principles and norms. Thus our sympathy for the fraternal people and Government of the Sudan is fully consistent with the position Indonesia has taken in all other instances with regard to the inviolability of the sovereign rights of States in various parts of the world. The independence, sovereignty and territorial integrity of the Sudan—and indeed of all countries in the region—should be fully respected. To this end we appeal to all States in the region, as well as to extra-regional Powers, to refrain from any action which would exacerbate tensions in the area.

115. The world has witnessed time and again the inherent futility of the use of force as an instrument of conflict resolution. Indeed, incidents of this kind have in the past led to disastrous consequences which no one had foreseen or sought. The matter is now before the Council, the principle organ of the Organization on which all Member States have agreed to confer primary responsibility for the maintenance of international peace and security. By substituting dialogue for armed hostilities, by providing channels of communication between contending parties, the Council on many occasions in the past has succeeded in limiting conflicts, thus opening the way towards finding more comprehensive and peaceful solutions. My delegation therefore calls upon the Council to marshal the wisdom and forbearance necessary to de-escalate the situation and ensure that genuine peace and greater security for all States can prevail in the region.

116. The PRESIDENT [*interpretation from Spanish*]: The next speaker is the representative of Chad. I invite him to take a place at the Council table and to make his statement.

117. Mr. BARMA (Chad) [*interpretation from French*]: It is said that misfortunes seldom come singly. This morning, as we were getting ready to come and denounce the unjustified murder of our peaceful Sudanese brothers, the media informed us of the sudden death of Mr. Ahmed Sékou Touré, President of the People's Revolutionary Republic of Guinea, one of the founding fathers of OAU and of the Movement of Non-Aligned Countries. With his passing, Guinea and Africa have lost one of their most eminent sons and a statesman of world-wide stature. Chad has lost one of the most ardent and reliable defenders of its sovereignty and territorial integrity. I should like therefore, on behalf of the people and the Government of Chad, to extend our profoundly sad condolences to the brother people of Guinea.

118. Mr. President, before taking up the item on our agenda, allow me on behalf of my delegation to extend

to you our warmest congratulations on your assumption of the presidency of the Council for the month of March. Your great qualities as a knowledgeable diplomat and your vast experience in international affairs guarantee the success of the Council's work.

119. I should also like to express my delegation's satisfaction at the most competent manner in which the retiring President, the representative of Pakistan, fulfilled his duties last month.

120. Since this is the first time my delegation has spoken in the Council this year, I should also like to extend my sincere congratulations to the newly elected members and wish them every success in their difficult task. At the same time, I should like to express my delegation's appreciation to those members who carried out their duties in the Council with courage and effectiveness and whose term came to an end on 31 December 1983.

121. Finally, it is a pleasant duty for me to thank you, Sir, and all the members of the Council for having allowed my delegation to speak in this important debate on the Sudan's complaint against Libya.

122. The delegation of Chad would like first of all respectfully to welcome the presence here of Mr. Mohamed Mirghani Mubarak, the Minister for Foreign Affairs of the Democratic Republic of the Sudan. The fact that the Minister has come to New York to support his Government's complaint in the Council is proof enough of the seriousness of the situation prevailing not only in his country but throughout the region as a result of the wanton and unprovoked aggression by a neighbouring country. Therefore we listened attentively to the clear and enlightened statement of Mr. Mubarak in the Council this morning [*2520th meeting*].

123. My delegation, I must say, is not surprised at this criminal act against the peaceful city of Omdurman, near the Sudanese capital. On 22 March 1983, almost exactly a year ago, the delegation of Chad revealed to the Council [*2419th meeting*] the warlike intentions of the Libyan régime, not only against Chad—a large part of whose territory is occupied by Libya, as is well known—but also against other neighbouring countries, other African countries. My delegation stated that on 2 March 1983, during its visit to N'Djamena for talks on the normalization of relations between Libya and Chad, the Libyan delegation had demanded that our delegation join it in a strategic alliance aimed at destabilizing a number of régimes in neighbouring countries, which the Libyan delegation referred to as reactionary. In other words, Chad was to agree to act as a spring-board for the destabilizing activities of Colonel Qaddafi's régime.

124. Since that time the leader of the Libyan revolution has made no secret of his desire and determination to implement his plans for expansion and hegemony against neighbouring countries. In his statement on the anniversary of the creation of the Libyan Arab Jamahiriya, Colonel Qaddafi clearly indicated that he would strive inch by inch "to liberate" the Sudan and then Egypt through what he called "popular revolution".

125. Is such language from a head of State whose country is governed by Islamic law in keeping with international norms and behaviour? Does not Islam —of which the Libyan leader claims to be such an apostle—call for tolerance?

126. The present conduct of Colonel Qaddafi is the end result of a situation which has persisted for more than a decade. As everyone knows, the Libyan leader failed miserably in his attempts to merge his country with certain neighbouring countries, among them Tunisia, Egypt, Chad and, above all, the Sudan.

127. Those political failures did not discourage the Colonel from continuing his efforts to make his cherished expansionist dream come true, his dream of establishing a "United States of the Sahel". Since all financial and political means he employed to that end proved ineffective, Colonel Qaddafi has chosen the language of force to attain his goal. That is why the subject of the Council's present meetings should come as a surprise to no one.

128. The air raid carried out last Friday, 16 March, against the city of Omdurman by a Soviet-made Tupolev TU-22 bomber, causing five deaths and sizeable material damage, is undeniably an act of State terrorism for which the Libyan Arab Jamahiriya is responsible.

129. Libya's half-hearted denial of responsibility is nothing but the sort of diversionary tactic in which it specializes. Did not Libya deny last summer's intensive bombing of towns in northern Chad, which caused enormous loss of life and material damage? Despite the massive presence of Libyan troops in Chad, does not Libya persist in stating, in the face of all the evidence, that it does not have a single soldier on the territory of Chad?

130. My delegation considers that the Council must not be taken in by Libya's delaying tactics and that it must adopt appropriate measures under the Charter to ensure the effective maintenance of peace and security in the region. We have of late become used to seeing the Council paralysed owing to ideological quarrels and selfish interests dictating the conduct of certain Council members which are not fully shouldering the responsibilities conferred upon them by the Charter.

131. This state of affairs can only encourage countries like Libya, which, knowing that because of the unfailing support of a permanent member they will never be sanctioned by the Council, have come to the considered decision that might makes right in their relations with their neighbours, rather than abiding by the principles and norms of international law. This explains the kindling here and there of local hotbeds of tension, which could become generalized conflicts if the Council's paralysis persists.

132. Today Libya is using the very tactic it used at the time of my country's complaint of last August, and has itself called for a meeting of the Council in order to sow confusion in a matter in which its guilt has been clearly established. This is oddly similar to the well-known tactic of the thief who, discovered and pursued, shouts, "Stop, thief!" in order to avoid capture. I think that the Council is too used to Libya's delaying tactics to be taken in by its tricks.

133. An essential question must be asked here: How much longer will the Council permit the leaders of a Member State to continue with impunity its daily violations of the sovereignty, independence and territorial integrity of other States? Can there be any more flagrant violation of the Charter and other international instruments than the occupation of a country by uninvited foreign troops? We know that Libya excels at such occupation, as is clearly proved by the presence of its troops in Chad—despite what is said by its supporters, who refuse to admit the truth. Is there respect for international norms when a country arrogates to itself the right to redraw maps, including those of the territory of neighbouring countries? It is known that Libya's road-maps reflect annexations of portions of the territories of Algeria, the Niger and Chad. Air raids, bids for power staged with the assistance of nationals —like Operation Gafsa in Tunisia—and the passing of judgement as to the representativity of the leaders of another country—all constitute acts of interference and intervention and serious threats to the sovereignty of neighbouring countries, acts at which the Tripoli leadership are past masters.

134. If such behaviour continues to be tolerated by the international community, we shall inevitably witness the annihilation of poor and weak countries by the rich and powerful ones of the world.

135. Despite our criticism of the Council's role, my delegation remains confident that the Council will be able to meet its primary responsibility: to ensure the maintenance of international peace and security. That peace is now disturbed in an especially sensitive region, owing to the arrogance and warlike attitude of a wealthy, over-armed country, Libya. This situation is a grave threat to world peace.

136. Thus, it is urgent that the Council agree to the legitimate request of the Sudan and demand an immediate end to these acts of aggression, condemning them vigorously.

137. My Government has already strongly condemned the unprovoked air raid of 16 March by Libya on the Sudanese city of Omdurman, and it energetically denounces Libya's expansionism and hegemonism. We convey to the fraternal Government and people of the Sudan our deep sympathy over this bombing, and offer our most heartfelt condolences to the families of the victims.

138. The PRESIDENT [*interpretation from Spanish*]: I shall now call on those representatives who wish to speak in exercise of the right of reply.

139. Mr. MUBARAK (Sudan) [*interpretation from Arabic*]: I shall be brief, because what I had intended to say has been said by a number of our brothers in the Council.

140. I should like to correct some information provided by the Minister for Foreign Affairs of Libya, who said that the distance between Kufra and the town of Omdurman was 2,000 miles. In fact, the distance is 850 miles. The distance of 2,000 miles mentioned by the representative of Libya is in fact the distance between Kufra and Nairobi, between Kufra and Warsaw in the north, between Kufra and Agadir on the Atlantic side and between Kufra and Abu Dhabi in the East. This information is well known; anyone who would like to verify it may do so by consulting recognized maps, particularly the *National Geographic Atlas of the World*, fifth edition, 1981, *The Times Atlas of the World* and *The New International Atlas*, published by Rand McNally. The information may also be found in the Map Department of the New York Public Library, whose telephone number is 930-0800.

141. This morning, the Minister for Foreign Affairs of Libya quoted some extracts from the foreign press out of context. We are in the Security Council. If press reports are to be regarded as proof, they do not support Libya, because in fact articles condemning Libya in many respects could be quoted. But we are not content simply with what journalists say. We are representatives of sovereign countries, and all representatives here are undoubtedly aware of many more facts than journalists are.

142. The Libya Minister referred to internal problems in the Sudan. I willingly acknowledge that we do have internal problems—economic ones, even political ones. There is a certain amount of opposition. We are not particularly pleased that there is such opposition, but we are proud of the fact that the present régime in the Sudan is tolerant of it. We are not against the presence of the opposition. In the Sudan, when we had a problem in the southern part of the country, we set the best possible example in Africa, because we found a peaceful solution. We called upon the other African States to give up warfare and to attempt to find peaceful, political solutions, because those are the most durable ones.

143. The problems that we confront at present can be resolved if the Council is willing to help us to create the necessary atmosphere to enable us to resolve them without any interference from outside.

144. I do not wish to go into any other points raised by my brother the Libyan Minister with regard to the Sudan's poverty. We discuss that matter together. I admit and recognize that the Sudan is an extremely

poor country, a country which is asking the Council to allow it to utilize its own natural resources to carry out its development. We do not want to import tanks. We want to import tractors, tools for agricultural use. These are our aspirations.

145. Mr. TREIKI (Libyan Arab Jamahiriya) [*interpretation from Arabic*]: I shall try to be brief. I am not exercising my right of reply against my brother, the Minister for Foreign Affairs of the Sudan. Rather, I am exercising it, above all, in connection with the disinformation and lies of the representative of the United States. I would have hoped that she would be with us now, but, as all representatives are aware, she habitually resorts to insulting behaviour and then leaves.

146. The campaign of calumny and lies forced upon the Council by the representative of the United States reveals the reason why the Council was called into session. Once again, as is her wont, she gave us lessons in morality—lessons in morality by the representative of the United States, no less, by the head of the imperialists! What sort of morality is that? It is morality based upon aggression and assassination.

147. The representative of the United States also spoke of violence, while only a few days ago, the United States placed timebombs in the ports of Nicaragua in order to kill innocent bystanders. Yet the Americans come here and preach to us about violence, when violence is being openly practised by that Administration, with the blessing of both the Senate and the House, which passed a multi-million-dollar bill for the purpose of fomenting rebellion and violence inside fraternal Nicaragua. Have members ever heard a head of State call rebels freedom fighters, as President Reagan calls the rebels in Nicaragua? They talk about violence while they are killing the Palestinian people. An entire people is being slaughtered, wiped out, assassinated daily by American weapons, by American pilots; recently it has been acknowledged that American pilots were involved in the fighting of 1967.

148. They preach against violence, but we ask: Who killed Allende in Chile? Who killed Malcolm X? Who killed Martin Luther King? Who tried to kill a number of leaders throughout the world and succeeded? Who makes a practice of terrorism and assassination? They boast that the *New Jersey* is the largest destroyer in the world. What peoples have the armaments of that ship killed? They have killed the unarmed Druse and Shi'ite peoples. That is Western and American civilization.

149. They preach against violence after they themselves killed thousands of people in Viet Nam. And they continue to kill people in Namibia by providing arms to South Africa, and in southern Africa by arming the racists there.

150. The representative of the United States has said that we boast that we are rich and the Sudan is poor. That is not true; we regard the Sudanese people as part of the Libyan people and the Libyan people as part of the Sudanese people. When I said that, I meant that there has been some mismanagement: the Sudan has a wealth of resources.

151. I would ask the representative of the United States why her country does not help the Sudan in other ways than by providing it with AWACS aircraft which will not feed the people. Who is adding to the burden of indebtedness that weighs down upon Sudanese shoulders? Is it not the World Bank? Is it not, ultimately, the United States Administration?

152. What have you given to the Sudan, to Latin America, to Nicaragua, to the Arab nation, to which the Sudan belongs? You have offered them destruction and death. Who bombed Abuza'abel and the schools at Bahr Al-Baker in Egypt? Who destroyed towns and villages in Egypt, if not American aircraft? And now you come here posing as a defender of the Sudan.

153. The world is going through an economic crisis precisely because of the attitude taken by the United States Administration.

154. They have referred to the internal situation in Libya, to the opposition in Libya. Well, the Libyan people is proud because there is not a single person out of work in Libya, while 25 per cent of the black people in the United States are unemployed. A few days ago I passed a supermarket and I saw a group of black Americans looking through the garbage cans. Probably all present have seen that sort of thing happening. So this is democracy for the United States. May I tell the representative of the United States that she will never find anything like that in Libya or the Soviet Union or the other socialist countries.

155. We have been told that we are proud of the defeat of the United States in Lebanon. Yes, we are. The Lebanese people did not come to America to strike at Florida or California. The United States went to Lebanon to attack its people, and the people of Lebanon triumphed. That is a source of great pride for the Arab nation and a new lesson for the United States to learn. We cannot deny that, because it is our duty to defend freedom and our Arab brothers, including the Sudanese. The Americans will be obliged to withdraw their AWACS aircraft; thereafter, the Sudan will remain an integral part of the great Arab nation.

156. They lecture us about norms and codes of international conduct. Whose conduct? That of the transnational corporations, the mercenaries, who are against the revolutionary Government in Nicaragua? Has the Council ever heard of a head of State appearing on television and appealing to a people, inciting it to insurgency, as President Reagan has done in the case of Cuba and the Soviet Union? That is how the norms of international conduct are seen through the eyes of the United States Administration.

157. As for Qaddafi's ambitions, what ambitions? For Arab unity? Yes, he is ambitious in that regard. That is not his personal ambition alone; it is an ambition shared by the whole Arab nation. You, as Americans, are entitled to achieve your own unity; do not we, the Arabs, have the right also to achieve our own unity? Are we not entitled to achieve African unity and Islamic unity? Yes, the charter of the Organization of African Unity encourages such unity, as does the charter of the Islamic Conference. We are proud of that. We are the harbingers of unity. We shall seek Arab unity until it is finally brought about, because we will have no chance of standing up to your armada and your forces unless we are unified, unless we stand united. That unity must come about. We hope that it will be forged.

158. We have heard a series of half-truths, quotations from newspaper articles designed solely to distort the image of our revolution. We know that we are revolutionaries. We are anti-imperialist. We will always continue to struggle against imperialism wherever in the world it can be found, in order to defend ourselves. We do not deny that. As a non-aligned country we are the allies of the peoples of Nicaragua and South Africa, and of the Palestinian people.

159. As for violence and terrorism, who is in the vanguard of terrorism and violence throughout the world? What country sends its battleships to destroy peoples? According to the American doctrine, you, the Arabs, the Muslims, the Africans, must endure attack by the destroyer *New Jersey* and F-16s, and if you try to defend yourselves, you are called assassins or terrorists, deserving of the punishment meted out by the United States Administration!

160. They assert proof that Libya sent an aircraft to bomb Omdurman. According to the reasoning of the Americans, the proof lies in the fact that, on 15 March, two aircraft took off from the base at Umm Aitiqah to Kufra. In their view, it is a threat when Libyan aircraft move from one Libyan air base to another. I wonder if members of the Council follow that reasoning.

161. In an initial statement, the official spokesman of the United States said that his Government was convinced that there were witnesses. I say to him that the witnesses themselves reported that the aircraft was a MiG-15, according to the story in *The Christian Science Monitor*. I do not consider that newspaper to be pro-Libyan, even if my brother the Minister from the Sudan disagrees with me on that point. That newspaper reported that a Sudanese pilot opposed to the régime might have carried out the raid; the other possibility was that the Government of the Sudan had undertaken the action in order to obtain American assistance and to induce Egypt to act on its mutual-defence treaty with the Sudan. However, where is the hard evidence the United States has found?

162. Where were the AWACS that at present are patrolling the region? We would have expected that the AWACS had reported something, but they did not, in spite of the fact that American intelligence sources reported that a plane bombed Omdurman, then flew back to base. That is incorrect. I would say to the United States Administration that it is not in the interest of peace and security in the region to try to pit one Arab or African country against another. Such attempts are necessarily doomed to failure, because the fraternal ties linking the Arab peoples—although there are but one people—will stand up to any attempts at dividing them.

163. We—Egyptians, Libyans and Sudanese—are all aware that our true enemies are Israel's allies. Our only enemies are those who occupy our lands and expel our peoples from their territories. We believe that our real problem is rooted in American intervention, not in the problems between Libya and the Sudan. In the past, I personally have participated in dealing with these problems, and they will be resolved. We are prepared to sit down with the Sudan to resolve our problems—if, in fact, there are any. But it is through dialogue and not through blackmail, intervention, interference or the imperialist doctrine of divide and rule—which we had thought extinct since the end of the last century—that we will resolve our problems. Now the new imperialism and neo-colonialism are trying to revitalize this doctrine.

164. We thank the Minister for Foreign Affairs of the Sudan for the telephone number of the New York Public Library. He also suggested that I had said "3,000 kilometres", and not 2,000 kilometres. He thinks that the distance is 850 miles, which means that the distance between Kufra and Omdurman and return is 2,720 kilometres. He also mentioned that the range of this plane is no more than 3,000 kilometres. However, I know there is a rule in aviation that a plane must have sufficient fuel for one extra hour of flight as a precaution against emergencies. Hence, I cannot conceive that the aircraft could make a flight of 3,000 kilometres—which is exactly its range—hit its target and return by the same route, thereby consuming all its fuel. At any rate, this is a matter of secondary importance.

165. As some representatives have said, there is not a shred of concrete evidence in the hands of the accuser, or of the enemies of Libya who are trying to avail themselves of any opportunity to strike at the Libyan Revolution. There is therefore not a shred of proof that stands up to scrutiny. The Council can only blame the real culprit, the true aggressors, those who fish in troubled waters, those who sow discord among the Arab countries.

166. Genuine complaints will soon be lodged by us —the African, Arab, Islamic and non-aligned countries—complaints against American imperialism and its constant intervention on all continents.

167. I apologize if my statement took up too much time.

168. Mr. BASSOLE (Upper Volta) [*interpretation from French*]: My delegation asks the Council's indulgence for requesting to be allowed to speak again.

169. In her statement, the representative of the United States, mentioned a number of countries which at one time or another had been threatened by Libya; my delegation was surprised that the Upper Volta was included in that list. I should like to say that statement referred to commits only the speaker, and in any case certainly does not reflect the facts—at least so far as my country is concerned.

170. That the representative of the United States believes she is correct in levelling accusations at the Libyan Arab Jamahiriya is her own right, but her attempts to associate my country with those accusations is unacceptable to my delegation.

171. As far as I know, my Government has never complained to anyone about a Libyan threat. We have excellent relations of friendship and co-operation with Libya based on mutual respect for the sovereignty and options of both countries—and that is a secret to no one.

The meeting rose at 6.50 p.m.

UNITED NATIONS

SECURITY COUNCIL
OFFICIAL RECORDS

THIRTY-NINTH YEAR

2522nd MEETING: 28 MARCH 1984

NEW YORK

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NOTE

Symbols of United Nations documents are composed of capital letters combined with figures. Mention of such a symbol indicates a reference to a United Nations document.

Documents of the Security Council (symbol S/. . .) are normally published in quarterly *Supplements* of the *Official Records of the Security Council*. The date of the document indicates the supplement in which it appears or in which information about it is given.

The resolutions of the Security Council, numbered in accordance with a system adopted in 1964, are published in yearly volumes of *Resolutions and Decisions of the Security Council*. The new system, which has been applied retroactively to resolutions adopted before 1 January 1965, became fully operative on that date.

2522nd MEETING

Held in New York on Wednesday, 28 March 1984, at 10.30 a.m.

President: Mr. Javier ARIAS STELLA (Peru).

Present: The representatives of the following States: China, Egypt, France, India, Malta, Netherlands, Nicaragua, Pakistan, Peru, Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic, Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland, United States of America, Upper Volta, Zimbabwe.

Provisional agenda (S/Agenda/2522)

1. Adoption of the agenda

2. Letter dated 22 March 1984 from the Chargé d'affaires a.i. of the Permanent Mission of the Libyan Arab Jamahiriya to the United Nations addressed to the President of the Security Council (S/16431)

The meeting was called to order at 11.40 a.m.

Adoption of the agenda

The agenda was adopted.

Letter dated 22 March 1984 from the Chargé d'affaires a.i. of the Permanent Mission of the Libyan Arab Jamahiriya to the United Nations addressed to the President of the Security Council (S/16431)

1. The PRESIDENT [*interpretation from Spanish*]: I wish to inform members of the Council that I have received letters from the representatives of the Democratic Yemen, the Libyan Arab Jamahiriya, Poland, the Syrian Arab Republic and Viet Nam in which they request to be invited to participate in the discussion of the item on the agenda. In accordance with the usual practice, I propose, with the consent of the Council, to invite those representatives to participate in the discussion, without the right to vote, in conformity with the relevant provisions of the Charter and rule 37 of the Council's provisional rules of procedure.

At the invitation of the President, Mr. Treiki (Libyan Arab Jamahiriya) took a place at the Council table; Mr. Al-Ashtal (Democratic Yemen), Mr. Natorf (Poland), Mr. El-Fattal (Syrian Arab Republic) and Mr. Le Kim Chung (Viet Nam) took the places reserved for them at the side of the Council chamber.

2. The PRESIDENT [*interpretation from Spanish*]: The Council is meeting today in response to a request which appears in a letter dated 22 March 1984 from the representative of the Libyan Arab Jamahiriya to the President of the Security Council.

3. I should like to draw the attention of members of the Council to the text of a letter dated 20 March 1984 from the representative of the Libyan Arab Jamahiriya to the President of the Security Council [*S/16425*].

4. The first speaker is the Secretary of the People's Committee of the People's Bureau for Foreign Liaison of the Libyan Arab Jamahiriya, Mr. Ali Abdusalam Treiki. I welcome him and invite him to make his statement.

5. Mr. TREIKI (Libyan Arab Jamahiriya) [*interpretation from Arabic*]: Yesterday I had an opportunity to extend to you, Mr. President, congratulations on behalf of the Libyan Arab Jamahiriya. It gives me pleasure today to state again our satisfaction at the excellent way in which you are conducting the business of the Council.

6. During the past year the Council has met twice to consider acts of provocation and aggression by the United States against the Libyan Arab Jamahiriya. It has also met on several occasions to consider acts of provocation, aggression and even occupation by the United States Administration against the territories of small, non-aligned countries—for example, the constant aggression committed by that Administration against Nicaragua and its invasion and occupation of Grenada.

7. Today we are meeting to consider a dangerous, indeed explosive, situation resulting from United States provocation and harassment of Libya. This could cause a deterioration in the region, threatening international peace and security.

8. As I said yesterday [*2521st meeting*], I wish that the representative of the United States would be kind enough, although she represents a super-Power, to be here to listen to representatives of small Member States. Perhaps her excuse for not being here is that it is difficult for her to hear the truth; the truth is bitter, and it could disturb her. But I am confident that her deputy will convey to her in full the truths that will be spoken here.

9. I do not think I need dwell on the many details which have been laid before the Council concerning the

acts of aggression, provocation and harassment constantly carried out by the United States against the Jamahiriya, its revolution and its leadership. At Council meetings held on 22 and 23 February 1983 [*2415th to 2418th meetings*] and in August of that year [*2464th, 2466th and 2468th meetings*], my delegation spoke of all those acts. In addition, it has addressed to the Secretary-General and to the President of the Council several letters containing complete details of American acts of aggression and provocation.

10. The reasons for the differences which exist between the United States and the Jamahiriya are not new; they date back to the first days of the great September Revolution in Libya. Before the revolution, Libya was among the protectorates of the United States. The United States maintained five military bases on the territory of the Jamahiriya, and monopolistic American corporations exploited the oil of the Jamahiriya, which was being sold at that time for $1.50 a barrel. Libya and the United States bases on its territory were used in 1956 to launch an act of aggression against the Arab nation and to attack Egypt. Those aggressive bases on Libyan territory were used on many occasions to launch acts of aggression against States of the region.

11. In the early days of the revolution, those bases were eliminated; Willis Air Force Base was renamed as the Umm Aitiqah base. The representative of the United States stated that two aircraft were photographed taking off from that base, but she did not mention that Umm Aitiqah, after whom the base is named, was an innocent six-year-old girl who was killed by bombings during training exercises by the United States Air Force near the base. Some may not know that, and I do not think that the representative of the United States was aware of that fact.

12. With the establishment of the Libyan Arab Jamahiriya, there began an economic blockade and a campaign of military harassment. United States Air Force violations of Libyan airspace over the past years number more than 336; there have been acts of provocation by the United States Navy, the most recent among them being the dispatch of an aircraft-carrier to our territorial waters; our planes have been attacked, and two Libyan jets have been downed, as members are fully aware. Additionally, the United States seeks to turn other countries—including some sister States—against the Jamahiriya, initiating a hostile political campaign and attempting to drive a wedge between Arab States, and a cultural blockade was initiated. This reached such heights that for the first time in the history of the United States a law was enacted forbidding Libyan students to study certain subjects, such as nuclear engineering and aeronautics. To all this must be added the ongoing vicious media campaign and the harassment of Libyan students.

13. Yesterday, the representative of the United States referred to an incident in which a Libyan student in her country was beaten and wounded by an agent of the United States Central Intelligence Agency (CIA); during the trial,—which was widely covered by the media—the CIA agent testified that he had shot the student as a warning against continuing his support for the Palestine Liberation Organization (PLO), but that student had assaulted him. Those are the facts of the incident the representative mentioned, as published in American newspapers.

14. Why are all these hostile acts being carried out against Libya? It is because of Libya's position on the Palestinian question. When, under the Carter Administration, I met with the United States Secretary of State, he told me that there was no problem between us apart from Libya's stand on the Palestinian question, because Libya, he said, was supporting terrorism. I replied, "Let us first define terrorism." We make distinctions: we are against terrorism as such, but we cannot accept the label of terrorist to be applied to Palestinians who are defending their right to liberate their own land, or to the revolutionaries of South Africa or of the South West Africa People's Organization. But, as I said yesterday, this is American logic: the Palestinians are terrorists, but the rebels in Nicaragua are freedom fighters.

15. The United States Under-Secretary of State for African Affairs says that Libya is behind the failure of all his Government's attempts to establish peace in the Arab world. This, then, is the cause for his country's campaign of hostility, provocation and harassment against Libya. But American policy in the Arab region—based on support for the Zionist entity and for occupation—has been denounced not by Colonel Qaddafi or Hafez Al-Assad, but by King Hussein. I do not think it is possible to say about King Hussein what is being said about Muammar Qaddafi and Hafez Al-Assad. King Hussein has said that the United States policy is biased. It is the policy of Israel, for there is no difference between Israel and the United States.

16. They tell us, "You Libyans are requested to accept Israeli occupation and the elimination of the PLO and the Palestinian people, or else you must be destroyed and driven out and the Libyan Revolution must be attacked." They are against Libyan policy because, they say, Libya practices terrorism. But what terrorism is that? I referred yesterday to American terrorism: the Shah of Iran was a friend and ally of the United States and was protected by the United States even though he killed thousands of innocent people and displaced thousands of families. The same was true of Somoza: he was no terrorist—he was a friend of the United States. It was true of Batista in Cuba, and so on, through the whole chain of agents and terrorists shedding the blood of peoples.

17. The hostile United States policy against Libya was most recently manifested in the dispatch of AWACS aircraft to the region in an act of provocation against my country. Why were those AWACS planes

sent to the region? Because, they said, there was a Libyan threat against the Sudan—this is a repetition of what took place last year at the request of two Arab States. Libya's population is 3 million; the total population of Egypt and Sudan amounts to 70 million. I wish to assure the representative of the United States that he will be disappointed if he thinks that there is going to be a war between Arab States; Libya, Egypt and the Sudan are at war against American imperialism, which is hostile to Arabs and allied with Israel.

18. The underlying problem is that the policy of the United States is under the full control of zionism, which uses that policy to serve its own interests and seeks to destroy the Arab region. This not only inflicts troubles upon the United States, but it also undermines that country's interests. In the current American presidential campaign we see a graphic example: the candidates seem to be campaigning in Israel rather than in the United States. Hart, Mondale, Reagan—they are all scrambling to approve the move of the United States Embassy in Israel to Jerusalem. Last year *The Christian Science Monitor* reported that Begin was more powerful in Congress than the President of the United States himself. That is a fact. That President, leader of the strongest country in the world, met with a number of members of the Zionist lobby to ascertain their point of view on providing Jordan with weapons. He had decided to give weapons to Jordan, but then reversed that decision when it became clear that King Hussein ultimately is an Arab who will not sacrifice the interests of the Arab nation.

19. There is no problem between Libya and the United States as such; it is a problem between the Arab nation and the United States. Senator Jackson has said that the only friend of the United States in the region is Israel and has described the Arab States that label themselves moderates and friends of the United States as agents. That is the truth.

20. The policy of the United States in the region encourages aggression. Is the United States interested in protecting Egypt and the Sudan? Since when? As I mentioned yesterday, was not Egypt attacked and destroyed by American weapons? Did not the United States try to use force against Abdel Nasser and to inflict problems on him, including a CIA attempt to assassinate him? Since when have the Americans been so interested in protecting the sisterly Sudan? They only want the Sudan to be antagonistic to Arab nationalism, the Arab nation and Libya.

21. We, the small peoples, who are destined to face aggression and not to have the right to choose our policies, are either to be agents or to be attacked and destroyed or subject to acts of provocation. The record of American aggression against small peoples is very well known to all representatives present. It ranges from acts of subversion to direct attack, as is happening in Nicaragua, or occupation, as was the case with Grenada. I recall some of the operations carried out by the CIA and the American Administration in various parts of the world, as well as the history of American Administrations in Latin America since the Monroe Doctrine. That history is one of occupation and starvation. As I said last year when I visited Nicaragua, I was shocked to see that Nicaragua was more underdeveloped than many countries in our region. But the most important thing for the United States was to keep Somoza in power—Somoza, who killed his people, as did Batista in Cuba.

22. I also recall the occupation of the Panama Canal, the changing of régimes, the occupation of the Dominican Republic and other acts of aggression against nearly all the States of Latin America. I do not want to go back into the history of what happened in Panama in 1909 and 1920 concerning the Government of General Jacobo; in Guatemala in 1958 and 1964; or of what happened in Chile, culminating in the assassination of President Allende in 1973. In 1961, the CIA planned a military *coup* in El Salvador and launched an act of aggression against Cuba. It has carried out acts of subversion in Brazil. In 1964, the American forces stationed in Panama launched an attack against a mass demonstration there. In 1950, the American armed forces landed in the Dominican Republic. From 1979 up to the present day, the United States has been trying with all the means at its disposal to overthrow the progressive régime in Nicaragua. I have also mentioned what happened in Grenada in 1983.

23. There is a similar pattern in Africa. In 1961, Lumumba was killed in the Congo by United States agents. In 1966, the Americans planned the *coup* which overthrew President Kwame Nkrumah in Ghana. The United States is financing UNITA [*União Nacional para a Independência Total de Angola*] bands led by Savimbi, who is still launching his attacks against Angola with the help of the American Administration. The United States, which is keen to reach a solution to the problems of southern Africa, is the main financer of the UNITA bands. Moreover, it provides the rebel Hissein Habré in Chad with all sorts of weapons to kill his own people.

24. All this is in addition to what happened in Iran —the overthrow of the Government of Mossadegh because he nationalized the oil—and the continuous provocation against the leadership of various countries today.

25. Finally, there are the attempts at assassination and physical liquidation. We have finally heard that President Reagan has allocated $20 million for the assassination of Colonel Qaddafi and Khomeini. These are the humanitarian acts of the United States, whose policy has come under the control of the Zionist policy in our region!

26. There is continuous aggression against my country, provocative acts against the Jamahiriya and other small peoples—Grenada, Angola, Mozambique, Viet

Nam, Afghanistan and Poland. No small country in any part of the world is safe from its share of direct American aggression.

27. The policy of the present United States Administration, which is based on confrontation, aggression and the deployment of missiles, may lead the world to war. In the past few years the world has gone through no worse period than the present, because the current United States Administration has no consideration for morals or international norms. If we look at the decisions and resolutions of the United Nations, we find that the current United States Administration's record is replete with support for aggression. United Nations resolutions of the past year alone make clear the extent of this policy and how dangerous it is. It is a policy of provocative acts against small States whose only sin is that they do not give in to American dictates and do not accept American intervention.

28. As a small people, what interest do we have in having abnormal relations with the United States? We want dialogue. We, the small, non-aligned States, want to establish balanced relations on the basis of mutual interest. We do not accept being agents. We do not accept being Somozas or Batistas or Shahs of Iran. The Jamahiriya sacrificed more than half its population in a long war against the Fascists. We would not agree to be agents; we would not agree to have American military bases, or any foreign bases for that matter.

29. I realize that the Security Council—despite its full conviction of the gravity of this aggressive policy followed by the United States Administration—will remain paralysed because that Administration has the power to veto any Council resolution, as it did last year in the case of Grenada and on other occasions. But we are confident that the misled American people —whose money is being spent in the service of aggression, whose money is being spent to serve the Zionist entity, at a time when unemployment is soaring and it is looking for a way to make ends meet—can and should play a major role in deterring the United States Administration.

30. The continued hostile American policy against the Arab nation and against the Jamahiriya will not lead to any change in policy on the part of the Arab nation. The Arab nation cannot accept occupation or the Zionists; it cannot accept aggression. Indeed, that policy will be to the detriment of United States interests in that and other regions.

31. From time to time a voice of reason is heard in the United States. I shall now refer to some remarks made last year by Senator Dodd in reply to President Reagan during a joint meeting of Congress to discuss President Reagan's policy in Central America. He said:

> "We cannot bear the consequences of adopting such an important policy on the basis of ignorance. The fact is that now, in 1983, some senior officials seem to know very little about that region, just as we knew very little about Indo-China in 1963. The peoples of Central America live in abject poverty. They cannot feed themselves when they are hungry; they cannot find a doctor when they are sick. They live in shanty-towns without any services, without fresh water. The majority of them are illiterate. The five Spanish-speaking States of that region need a whole year to produce what our nation produces in less than three days. If Central America had not been so poor, there would have been no revolution."

He said also:

> "This is the formula for failure. We always choose the loser. The American people know we have taken this path before. It leads to nothing but an endless series of interventions."

He went on:

> "The Administration spends a billion dollars to confront the revolutionary army of no more than 7,000 men in El Salvador. That means that almost $140,000 is being allocated for each revolutionary. This is a losing policy, the policy of aggression against starving peoples."

That is the policy of the American Administration.

32. Shamelessly, the United States admits it has sent AWACS aircraft to spy on Libya. Mr. Shultz himself has admitted that. Yesterday the representative of the United States boasted that her Government has photographs; that is an admission of spying and the use of reconnaissance. That Government threatens that any Libyan attempt to attack those hostile aircraft will lead to grave consequences. As I said yesterday, we are supposed to welcome the jets that are there to carry out acts of aggression, and to host them, because, of course, they are American and display the American flag.

33. In conclusion, I would observe that the Council must shoulder its special responsibility. It is entrusted with the maintenance of international peace and security, and it cannot let one of its permanent members pursue such a policy of aggression against whole peoples, a policy of occupation of the territories of small countries. If that law of the jungle is allowed to continue, a very dangerous precedent will be established, and it will lead to nothing but war and destruction. It is high time that the United States was told that it is not the policeman of the world; it is not entitled to carry out these acts of aggression; it is not responsible for the world. The United States must be told to put an end to its acts of aggression. It is in the interest of the American people itself that it do so: indeed, the expansionist and aggressive policies of Hitler led Germany to destruction. Throughout history the policy of arrogance, gunboat diplomacy and military might has resulted in nothing but catastrophe. In the end, the American peo-

ple will itself fall victim to such an aggressive policy against all freedom- and peace-loving forces.

34. In conclusion, I would remind the Council of the advice given by an American journalist I mentioned yesterday. He himself was a victim of racial discrimination. In an essay in *The Toronto Sun*, he writes:

> "Perhaps the time has come for the Western leaders to finally decide which nations are truly worth supporting, and which must be left to their own fate. As Frederick the Great said, 'He who would defend everything defends nothing.' "*

35. Mr. CLARK (United States of America): The United States desires to make only three simple points.

36. AWACS aircraft are not aggressive weapons. They are not instruments of violence. They are, however, effective observers. The aircraft were dispatched at the request of the Government of the Sudan after it had been attacked by Libya under circumstances that have been reviewed in detail in the Council.

37. The United States understands full well why the Government of Libya prefers that no one observe its attacks on its neighbours: such deeds are best done in stealth, covered with denials.

38. United States actions are wholly consistent with international law and the provisions of the Charter of the United Nations. Libya's neighbours have the right to defend themselves; their friends have the right to help them, as long as their actions are consistent with the Charter and international law. United States actions are consistent with the Charter and with the law.

39. The PRESIDENT [*interpretation from Spanish*]: The next speaker is the representative of the Syrian Arab Republic. I invite him to take a place at the Council table and to make his statement.

40. Mr. EL-FATTAL (Syrian Arab Republic) [*interpretation from Arabic*]: I should like at the outset to extend sincere condolences to the Government and people of Guinea on the death of President Ahmed Sékou Touré. With his death the third world has suffered a great, irreparable loss. The Government and people of the Syrian Arab Republic have the greatest admiration and appreciation for the tremendous victories of President Ahmed Sékou Touré in his continuous struggle to liberate Africa and liquidate colonialism. President Sékou Touré was one of the first leaders to realize the dangers of Zionist schemes to the peace and safety of the Middle East region. We shall never forget his valiant stand in refusing to acquiesce in plans to prolong colonialism. Thus, he and his people, owing to their attachment to principles, have faced many problems. But, thanks to his courage, he was able to break out of the isolation which colonialism attempted to impose on him.

41. President Ahmed Sékou Touré's death is a loss inflicted on the Movement of Non-Aligned Countries in the establishment, development and support of which the late President played a fundamental role. It is also a loss to the Organization of African Unity, for the establishment of which the late President struggled. Similarly, we shall not forget his great contribution to the establishment of the Organization of the Islamic Conference.

42. We seize this opportunity to convey, through you, Mr. President, our heartfelt condolences to the people and Government of Guinea and his bereaved family. May his soul rest in peace.

43. Before beginning my statement, Sir, allow me to express our great satisfaction at your assumption of the presidency of the Council for this month. We are confident that by the end of your term you will have enriched the Council with your wisdom, your tact, your outstanding diplomacy and your deep understanding of the problems of the international community, especially those of the developing countries.

44. I should like also to express to your predecessor, Mr. Shah Nawaz, representative of Pakistan, our great appreciation and gratitude for the exemplary manner in which he conducted the Council's work during a period fraught with grave events. Thanks to his deep understanding of the reasons behind international crises afflicting our world, he managed to conduct the Council's work in an objective manner and with ideal wisdom. He has our full respect and appreciation.

45. We participate in this debate, on the one hand, to express our grave concern at the threats to the Libyan Arab Jamahiriya represented in suspect United States military movements and provocations designed to create a climate conducive to aggression against this sister State—aggression which is but one more link in the chain of acts of aggression launched globally by the United States against the States and peoples of Asia, Africa and Central America.

46. On the other hand, we participate in this discussion to appeal to the Council to live up to its responsibilities under the Charter of the United Nations and put an end to a United States policy pursued with the force of arms or the threat of force on the pretext of protecting American interests. It is as though our globe were created to serve American interests and as though there were no legitimate national interests on the face of the earth save those in the service of the United States or those that acquiesce in American hegemony and exploitation.

47. Although we know in advance that the Council will not arrive at a decision leading to the containment and deterrence of American superiority and the arro-

* Quoted in English by the speaker.

gance of imperialism based on military might and wide-scale proliferation in large parts of the world, we are confident that these discussions are useful because they promote an understanding of the greatest problem that has emerged since the Second World War, that is, the denial by the United States of the principle of the supremacy of law in international relations and the adoption of force globally as an instrument of United States foreign policy.

48. We do not exaggerate when we say that, although today's world is on the threshold of the twenty-first century, thanks to the technological revolution, regrettably, in the field of international relations it is witnessing a return to the nineteenth century, which was the apogee of the policy of force to dominate peoples and their destinies.

49. The attempts of foreign hegemony faced by the Libyan Arab Jamahiriya must be discussed in the context of the comprehensive policy of the United States aimed at subjugating the forces that believe in freedom and sovereignty and strive to consolidate their subjective identity and achieve their social and economic development in solidarity with the forces of liberation in the world.

50. Proceeding from our belief in the justice of the struggle of those peoples yearning to rid themselves of the yoke of foreign domination and hegemony, we consider that the United States, despite its colossal conventional and nuclear military arsenal and its tremendous material and agricultural capabilities, will fail in its attempt to create a world devoted to the service of American imperialist interests, which are in basic contradiction to the interests of the peoples. The third world, despite its problems and scourges inherited from colonialist exploitation and the austerity and stinginess it faces on the part of those States that could help it establish a new, all-round more equitable international order, is capable, thanks to its enlightenment, solidarity, varied relations of co-operation, indigenous capabilities and self-reliance, of resisting the all-pervading American blackmail that extends even to food supply and education. There are States that have put up a heroic resistance—and are still doing so—to avoid falling into the sphere of American hegemony. There is no doubt that the Libyan Arab Jamahiriya is one of those States. Hence it is the target of an all-out American onslaught, in contravention of the Charter and United Nations resolutions and of the most rudimentary principles of international conduct. Moreover, the overt and covert acts of aggression against Nicaragua are further proof of United States resolve to threaten every State whose policy is not in line with its ambitions and self-interests and departs from the sphere of American hegemony.

51. The threat to the Libyan Arab Jamahiriya is not new, but is an escalation of provocations which began in 1969 out of opposition to the principles of the 1 September Revolution and which have widened in scope, becoming more vicious and dangerous since 1980, especially since the coming into office of the Reagan Administration, which believes in the use of force as an absolute value in its international relations. It is worth recalling that the recent threats to the Libyan Arab Jamahiriya and the bolstering of the Rapid Deployment Forces in the area have come this time in the wake of the failure of the Israeli-American alliance to impose the agreement of 17 May 1983 on our sister country of Lebanon.

52. Washington, after its dishonourable victory against tiny Grenada, resorted to an intensification of tension in Central America, southern Africa, the Gulf, the Middle East and especially against the Libyan Arab Jamahiriya. It thus once again dispatched its AWACS aircraft.

53. We are told that the AWACS aircraft are a means of defence. All the weapons provided to Israel by the United States have been provided as defensive weapons. Have we forgotten that defensive weapons are also offensive weapons? Is there a distinction? Are the AWACS aircraft not a means of espionage? Is espionage not a prelude to aggression? Therefore the American pretext that espionage is legitimate because the AWACS aircraft are non-offensive does not accord with the principles of international law. I am afraid the representative of the United States will need some help in selling that message to those present in this chamber.

54. Espionage is part and parcel of a military operation. The United States redispatched the AWACS aircraft for the purpose of provocation and sent warplanes and missiles to create a new hotbed of tension. It justified all these acts before the American people by stating that they were for the protection of threatened American interests and American allies. But no one believed these allegations, not even the American press itself—known for its general hostility to Arabs and for its bias in favour of zionism—which uncovered the real reasons for the American action. Suffice it to recall the press reports referred to in yesterday morning's meeting [*2520th meeting*] which reveal the real nature of the crisis in the region and the need to place the blame on others, in this case on the Libyan Arab Jamahiriya in particular—this despite the general conviction of the Council that the Libyan Arab Jamahiriya, because of its principled support for progressive forces and Governments and its defiance of imperialism, is the target if not the victim.

55. Suffice it to recall also the American aggression in August 1981, when the United States Navy carried out aggressive manoeuvres from 17 to 22 August in the Gulf of Sidra, inside the territorial waters of the Libyan Arab Jamahiriya, in an area which the United States, the owner of the AWACS aircraft, knew full well to be an area set aside for Libyan Air Force training. Eight American planes of the United States Sixth Fleet attacked and shot down two Libyan planes. That act of aggression gave rise to deep apprehension in the

Arab and the non-aligned countries. The Group of Arab States at the United Nations addressed a declaration on 21 August 1981 to the President of the Council [*S/14638/Rev.1, annex*] which contained a strong condemnation of American threats and provocations against the Libyan Arab Jamahiriya. The Co-ordinating Bureau of the Movement of Non-Aligned Countries, in its meeting on 28 August 1981, issued a communiqué condemning the American aggression. I shall not read out the text in view of the lateness of the hour.

56. The Movement of Non-Aligned Countries persisted, at the ministerial and other levels, in warning about the threats inherent in the repeated United States acts of provocation against the Libyan Arab Jamahiriya. But these acts of provocation did not cease; nor did the vicious media campaign cease against the régime and President of the Libyan Arab Jamahiriya; in fact, it intensified.

57. The Security Council was convened in February 1983 and on other occasions. However, the more the United States and others escalate their attacks on the Libyan Arab Jamahiriya, the greater is the international support afforded to the Government and people of the Jamahiriya. For everyone knows that the Libyan Arab Jamahiriya is a State of confrontation and steadfastness, that it is a State of principles and not anyone's broker or lackey, that it is a State that has devoted its capabilities to defending rights and has remained steadfast, despite the small size of its human resources.

58. If the aim of the statement by Mr. Shultz, United States Secretary of State, on 20 March 1984—the statement in which he accused the Libyan Arab Jamahiriya of having committed aggression, but did not furnish any proof of that—was to make political mileage with the Zionist lobby, to serve the interests of his President, that is no concern of ours. Indeed, the United States President and his two rivals are allies of Israel and have declared their allegiance to and their alliance with Israel. All of them feel that this settler colonialism in occupied Palestine is legitimate and is no impediment to peace. The electoral campaign in the United States is boiling down to a rivalry over which of the candidates will be the first to transfer the United States Embassy from Tel Aviv to occupied Jerusalem. If, however, the aim of Mr. Shultz was to precipitate a war among Arabs, to deplete Arab capabilities and divert them from the aim of liberation from the Zionist-Israeli aggression and of breaking the chains of Camp David, he will not succeed, for the Arab people will stand up to these attempts.

59. We did not participate in the discussions yesterday, for well-known reasons. We took no account of the letter contained in document S/16420, because it does not include elements which would enable the members of the Council and others to reach the proper conclusion about the truth of what is happening in the region and because of our firm conviction that these matters could and should have been discussed amicably, among the parties concerned, in the League of Arab States or the Organization of African Unity.

60. But the Libyan complaint before the Council today is a different matter, because it involves a violation of Libyan sovereignty by a State that is a permanent member of the Council, a State which threatens and violates the sovereignty and interferes in the internal affairs of other States. The information provided by the Libyan Arab Jamahiriya merits all our concern. The United States actions constitute provocation and are hostile in their nature and their aims.

61. Moreover, this information has been confirmed by statements by United States officials, led by Mr. Shultz. He confirmed the presence of the AWACS aircraft, as was done also by Mr. Romberg, a spokesman for the State Department, when he said, according to *The New York Times* of 20 March:

> "AWACS will be part of combined air defense operations being carried out by Egypt and the Sudan".*

According to the same article, another official of the United States Administration stated:

> "Our planes are there and don't mess with them.
>
> "We told the Libyans that we are deploying our own military aircraft in the region and any action against them could have serious consequences".*

62. Does that not constitute a grave threat directed against a Member State? We have also noted that, in the statement that I have just quoted by an official spokesman of the United States Administration, the word "region" is used. We conclude that the theatre of operation of the AWACS aircraft includes the Libyan Arab Jamahiriya.

63. In addition to the provocations included in the statement to which I have just referred, there was mention of certain internal situations, which are no concern of ours. Furthermore, the spokesman's words "there is no evidence of preparations for a massive attack"* constituted an acknowledgement that the alleged Libyan threat of an invasion has no basis in fact.

64. There is every indication that the United States is seeking to consolidate its aggressive military presence in the region. All these pretexts are simply being used to deceive both national and international public opinion. Washington is seeking to create a hotbed of tension, and the victims will be the Arabs. What other aim could the barrage of these haphazard accusations have?

65. The truth is that the United States military aid and the provision of United States weapons of all kinds

* Quoted in English by the speaker.

are designed simply to cause Arab bloodshed and to fan the flames of Arab differences. They are not designed to restore Arab rights. The only aim of the weapons, including AWACS aircraft and other *matériel*, supplied by the United States is to create tension among the Arabs. This is indicated in the letter from Mr. Ali Treiki, the Secretary of the People's Committee of the People's Bureau for Foreign Liaison of the Libyan Arab Jamahiriya. The letter indicates also that the United States Administration is trying to deepen the schism in the Arab homeland and to play the Arabs off against each other.

66. The basic idea behind the establishment of the Rapid Deployment Forces and the strategic alliance between the United States and Israel is aggression against the Arabs, the consolidation of the Israeli occupation and the fulfilment of Zionist claims over the region. The idea is certainly not to help the Arabs.

67. The Council must understand the dimensions of the scheme now being implemented. It must realize that the aggression launched by the United States Administration against the Socialist People's Libyan Arab Jamahiriya and against the peoples of the region is a grave threat to international peace and security by a State member of the Council. These acts of aggression by a super-Power, which is supposed to be a responsible and prudent State, are flagrant violations of the Charter and the principles of international law. We know, of course, that the United states will, as in the past, prevent the Council from shouldering its basic responsibilities, despite the grave threat to the peace and security of the region. Nevertheless, we call upon the States members of the Council that cherish peace to do their utmost to put an end to the United States military presence in all parts of the Arab region. The Arabs do not need the might of the United States—actually, the might of the United States is the might of Israel.

68. The only threat hovering over us is the Zionist threat. If Arabs are temporarily divided, this is only because of the policy of the United States, which does not understand that the nations and peoples of the region reject alliances and foreign intervention, and that they are committed to the liberation of the occupied Arab, Lebanese and Palestinian territories. Friendship with the Arabs cannot be built on the ruins of the Arabs. If the United States wants to deal honestly with the Arab nation it must respect Arab national interests and must establish relations based on mutual respect.

69. The United States has shown—and continues to show in its strategic policies and daily practices—that it is interested only in tearing apart the Arab nation, exploiting its wealth, and consolidating Israeli occupation by any means, including the unlimited assistance provided to Israel, which occupies Palestine and portions of Lebanon and Syria. The United States is ignoring the political reality that the Arabs will never, under any circumstances, permit their lands to become a base or a way station for American interests or for American policies aimed at achieving hegemony over the world.

70. Mr. GAUCI (Malta): Permit me first, Sir, to congratulate you briefly, not only on your assumption of the presidency for this month, but also on the magnificent way in which you have already handled your delicate office, in continuation of the excellent example set by your immediate predecessor, Ambassador Shah Nawaz of Pakistan. The brevity of this compliment is, once again, dictated by the exigencies of time and is in inverse proportion to the warmth and sincerity behind it as well as to the outstanding merit to which, I shall be the first to acknowledge, it pays only a poor tribute.

71. Permit me also to join you and the other speakers who have lamented the untimely passing away of the late President Sékou Touré of Guinea. We had the privilege of welcoming him in Malta not so very long ago. We were impressed by his personality and the breadth of his vision as much as we admire the sterling contribution he rendered to his country and to his young continent. We convey our sad condolences to his family, to his people, to his country and to Africa.

72. If I might take a bit farther the analogy of ideas associated with the letter P, introduced by our British colleague yesterday, I might be allowed to add that the letter P is also associated with prudence, with patience and with perseverance in the pursuit of peace. These, it may be recalled, are attributes which all members of the Council should share, perhaps now as never before, given the present acute state of tension throughout the world.

73. Perhaps we also need to be reminded—all of us, big and small alike—that, irrespective of our ideological orientation or geographical location, we have to abide strictly and fully by the obligations we freely assumed when we joined the United Nations and the respective regional organizations to which we may belong.

74. We might perhaps also be permitted to stress that internationally recognized principles have specific content and lay down binding norms of inter-State behaviour. Those principles, therefore, are not merely source material from which we embellish our statements; they are not academic shrines before which we make ritualistic and absent-minded genuflections. Rather, the carefully defined words of each relevant principle constitute accurate descriptions of actual international behaviour expected from and incumbent upon each one of us.

75. Today, more than ever before, it has become evident that, for better or for worse, in international relations for every action there is an opposite but unequal reaction. It is also evident that with areas of overlapping tension all too widespread on the political map any negative action carries with it the certainty of setting off a chain-reaction, which has far-reaching consequences affecting the interests of entire regions.

76. We have also seen that the cumulative effects of such negative actions over the years have not—I repeat, not—rendered any significant advantage to any one side at the expense of the other. This applies not only to the States concerned, but also to their neighbours and to the military and ideological division in the world today. On the contrary, negative actions have produced uncounted damage, suffering and death, while leaving permanent scars on the body politic, which have now assumed frightening proportions.

77. In these circumstances, surely the time is overdue to halt these negative processes, to reverse direction and resolutely to embark on positive action. My Government, for one, firmly believes so. We have deliberately shed the military mantle of past centuries of our history, turning our backs away permanently from armed confrontation, and instead firmly pursuing the path of peaceful economic co-operation.

78. So, even as I speak here today, back home in Valletta special envoys from several Mediterranean countries, including all the North African Mediterranean countries, are gathered together jointly searching for new concerted initiatives on which we can peacefully embark, so as eventually to free the Mediterranean from its present foreboding and dangerous tension. The set objective is gradually but surely to transform the Mediterranean into a zone of security and peace, free from outside interference, with the riparian countries assuming their rightful role as arbiters of their own destiny. It is in the light of these wider ramifications that we consider the two items before us, and that is why we are speaking today.

79. We with to welcome the presence in New York of the Ministers for Foreign Affairs of the Sudan and of the Libyan Arab Jamahiriya. We listened attentively yesterday to the eloquent outpourings of their respective points of view in the statements they made. We greatly regret the bombing incident brought to our attention, which has caused damage and loss of life. We look on the unfortunate incident with dismay. We convey our heartfelt condolences to the families of those who lost their lives and we send our wishes for a speedy recovery to the wounded.

80. We note that even in the midst of differences many positive elements were contained in the statements of the two Ministers. In particular, we noted their call for help to resolve their differences and their expressed willingness to do so. We welcome these sentiments, as we firmly believe that the people of these two friendly non-aligned countries are destined to live and to progress together in open co-operation.

81. We note that the possibilities offered by the regional organizations to which they both belong have not yet been utilized in this case, but that they stand available. In keeping with our position of principle on the role of regional organizations, we would urge and encourage early recourse to these organizations in the first instance.

82. We would also urge restraint and advocate quiet diplomacy, because we firmly believe, from actual experience, that course is the wisest—indeed, the only rational—course. The further deployment of military force only exacerbates tension; it is no way to find a just and durable solution.

83. As you know, Mr. President, we have privately suggested that the Council lend its own authoritative voice to encourage the utilization of the proffered good offices and benevolent good will of friendly countries and regional organizations. We repeat our opinion publicly today. We were gratified yesterday in our individual contacts with both friendly countries to detect a willingness not to seek accusation and condemnation, and not to exacerbate tension. We commend both sides for this accommodating attitude, and we trust that in the next few days positive results will emerge from the high-level contacts which you yourself, Mr. President, in response to the wishes of the Council, have initiated. It is our collective duty to reduce tension and military confrontation. We for our part are ready and willing to make our modest but maximum, and exclusively peaceful, contribution.

The meeting rose at 1 p.m.

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THIRTY-NINTH YEAR

2523rd MEETING: 28 MARCH 1984

NEW YORK

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Symbols of United Nations documents are composed of capital letters combined with figures. Mention of such a symbol indicates a reference to a United Nations document.

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The resolutions of the Security Council, numbered in accordance with a system adopted in 1964, are published in yearly volumes of *Resolutions and Decisions of the Security Council*. The new system, which has been applied retroactively to resolutions adopted before 1 January 1965, became fully operative on that date.

2523rd MEETING

Held in New York on Wednesday, 28 March 1984, at 3.30 p.m.

President: Mr. Javier ARIAS STELLA (Peru).

Present: The representatives of the following States: China, Egypt, France, India, Malta, Netherlands, Nicaragua, Pakistan, Peru, Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic, Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland, United States of America, Upper Volta, Zimbabwe.

Provisional agenda (S/Agenda/2523)

1. Adoption of the agenda

2. Letter dated 22 March 1984 from the Chargé d'affaires a.i. of the Permanent Mission of the Libyan Arab Jamahiriya to the United Nations addressed to the President of the Security Council (S/16431)

The meeting was called to order at 4.35 p.m.

Adoption of the agenda

The agenda was adopted.

Letter dated 22 March 1984 from the Chargé d'affaires a.i. of the Permanent Mission of the Libyan Arab Jamahiriya to the United Nations addressed to the President of the Security Council (S/16431)

1. The PRESIDENT [*interpretation from Spanish*]: In accordance with the decision taken at the 2522nd meeting, I invite the Secretary of the People's Committee of the People's Bureau for Foreign Liaison of the Libyan Arab Jamahiriya to take a place at the Council table; I invite the representatives of Democratic Yemen, Poland, the Syrian Arab Republic and Viet Nam to take the places reserved for them at the side of the Council chamber.

At the invitation of the President, Mr. Treiki (Libyan Arab Jamahiriya) took a place at the Council table; Mr. Al-Ashtal (Democratic Yemen), Mr. Natorf (Poland), Mr. El-Fattal (Syrian Arab Republic) and Mr. Le Kim Chung (Viet Nam) took the places reserved for them at the side of the Council chamber.

2. The PRESIDENT [*interpretation from Spanish*]: I wish to inform members of the Council that I have received letters from the representatives of Afghanistan, Bulgaria, Czechoslovakia, Ethiopia, the German Democratic Republic, the Islamic Republic of Iran, the Lao People's Democratic Republic and Mongolia in which they request to be invited to participate in the discussion of the item on the Council's agenda. In accordance with the usual practice I propose, with the consent of the Council, to invite those representatives to participate in the discussion, without the right to vote, in conformity with the relevant provisions of the Charter and rule 37 of the provisional rules of procedure.

At the invitation of the President, Mr. Zarif (Afghanistan), Mr. Garvalov (Bulgaria) Mr. Kovačič (Czechoslovakia), Mr. Ibrahim (Ethiopia), Mr. Ott (German Democratic Republic), Mr. Rajaie-Khorassani (Islamic Republic of Iran), Mr. Kittikhoun (Lao People's Democratic Republic), and Mr. Erdenechuluun (Mongolia) took the places reserved for them at the side of the Council chamber.

3. Mr. TROYANOVSKY (Union of Soviet Socialist Republics) [*interpretation from Russian*]: The Soviet delegation supported Libya's request for an urgent meeting of the Council to consider the grave situation which has come about as a result of unprovoked hostile actions against that sovereign, non-aligned Member State. We believe that the request was timely, and entirely warranted.

4. This is not the first time that the Council has had to consider the question of infringements of the sovereignty and independence of Libya, and the situation in that country has worsened once again. It seems to us that in his statement before the Council the Minister of Libya, Mr. Ali Treiki, with the facts to support him, indicated where we can find the roots of the danger still threatening his country and the surrounding region.

5. For a number of years now, notwithstanding generally recognized international norms and the Charter of the United Nations, Washington's policy towards independent Libya has consisted of overt military preparations, economic blockade, gross provocations and military brinksmanship, although, obviously, these two countries belong to quite different leagues. These actions have been accompanied by constant anti-Libyan campaigns and by a flood of assorted fabrications and fictions concerning Libya's internal and external policies. These have sometimes reached absurdity.

6. Members of the Council will vividly remember events of last year, when the United States dispatched a

large-scale naval force to Libya's coast and, in the immediate vicinity of Libya's borders, staged very clear demonstrations of strength with the participation of United States troops. American reconnaissance aircraft have been sent to nearby countries with the intention of carrying out surveillance of Libya.

7. The recent events in Libya demonstrate the obstinacy—which could well be put to better use—with which Washington has been searching for any pretext to heat up the situation in that part of the world and for the opportunity to create a new source of tension. In a sort of military reflex which has become the norm for the United States, that country has once again sent AWACS aircraft and considerable quantities of weapons to the countries bordering on Libya, along with emissaries whose roles reveal no experience in the diplomatic settlement of regional problems.

8. The actions of the United States in that region cannot be seen in isolation from the general policies of imperialist forces seeking hegemony in international affairs or from their world-wide intention to employ terrorism and military methods. Speaking on 2 March, the General Secretary of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, Mr. Chernenko, described that policy pursued by the most aggressive circles of American imperialism as one of overt militarism and of attempts to gain world domination, to resist progress and to violate the rights and freedoms of peoples. Examples of the application of that policy are the invasion of Lebanon, the aggression against Grenada, the threats made against Syria and Cuba, and the terrorist war waged against Nicaragua. It is well known who supplied the Israeli military and armed them with the weapons they used and continue to use in an attempt to annihilate the Arabs. It is obviously too early to put a full stop at the end of that list; the list, it could be said, is still open-ended.

9. Without the least concern about the consent of independent sovereign States, they have arbitrarily declared spheres of United States "vital interests" in extensive regions in North Africa and the Middle and Near East, from the Indian Ocean to the Mediterranean. One thing alone remains unclear: Does Lebanon continue to be such a sphere, or has it just been deleted, for reasons beyond Washington's control? The entire region is now ensnared in a network of numerous military bases; preparations are under way to deploy cruise missiles in the immediate vicinity.

10. It is not only the natural resources of independent States that they consider to be "strategic" interests, but also international waterways: the seas and oceans in the area are host to aircraft-carriers with contingents of marines on board. As a recent TASS statement said, United States actions in this region pose a direct threat to international peace and security.

11. All these attempts to achieve their hegemonistic purposes are cloaked in a hypocritical propaganda campaign about their "fight against international terrorism". But if we are to talk about terrorism, as it has become part of their State policy to do, the principal culprit is to be found not among the developing countries—which are vitally concerned with tackling the serious social and economic problems facing them—but in quite different quarters.

12. Another example is the statement made by United States representatives regarding their alleged devotion to the principle of the non-use of force in international relations. The use of this device, which was resorted to again only yesterday in the statement made here by the United States delegation, represents an obvious attempt to make us forget about the speeches made in this very chamber in October of last year, when the question of the "glorious victory" against Grenada was under discussion. At that time, the representatives of the United States attempted to prove the opposite: that the United States had every right to use force against sovereign States whose domestic or foreign policies were, for some reason, not to the liking of the White House.

13. The United States tries to pursue its policy towards developing countries under the cover of continuous propaganda vociferations about a Soviet military threat. Clearly, the world is now aware of what is hidden behind that smoke-screen: an attempt by the United States to justify its own arbitrariness and violence in the international arena by references to the East-West conflict.

14. For its part, the Soviet Union has ceaselessly favoured an end to diktat and to intervention in the internal affairs of young independent States, to spare them the imperialist military presence so that their peoples can develop in freedom and independence and along a path in accordance with their own aspirations.

15. The Soviet Union firmly supports the people of Libya and other independent, non-aligned countries, which are defending their sovereignty against pressure and threats.

16. The PRESIDENT [*interpretation from Spanish*]: The next speaker is the representative of Viet Nam. I invite him to take a place at the Council table and to make his statement.

17. Mr. LE KIM CHUNG (Viet Nam) [*interpretation from French*]: May I first, on behalf of the Socialist Republic of Viet Nam, convey our deepest, heartfelt condolences to the delegation of the People's Revolutionary Republic of Guinea on the death of President Ahmed Sékou Touré, a distinguished Guinean statesman, a great African militant and a long-standing friend of Viet Nam.

18. I hope, Sir, that you will accept our warm congratulations, as well as our best wishes, on your accession to the presidency of the Council for this month.

I should also like warmly to thank all the members of the Council for having afforded me the opportunity to participate in the discussion of the very important item before the Council.

19. Since the beginning of this month we have seen a grave deterioration of the situation in north-eastern Africa, because of the aggressive plans and hostile acts of the United States towards the Libyan Arab Jamahiriya. A rapid review of the following facts is enough to persuade us of that. According to a reliable source, which gave the news on 5 March, the United States decided to fly weapons to the Sudan. On the same day, the State Department made known that Secretary of State George Shultz had sent an envoy to Khartoum to discuss the question of American military aid to the Sudan.

20. On 12 March, the United States invoked "growing threats to security" to justify its search for ways in which to increase the Sudan's military strength. It was in this context that there suddenly burst the news of an air raid carried out by a so-called Libyan bomber on the Sudanese town of Omdurman on 16 March at 11.30 a.m. That was enough for the President of the United States to decide on 18 March to send two AWACS radar aircraft to Egypt in order to violate Libyan airspace, spy on Libyan territory and prepare for military aggression against the Jamahiriya. On 19 March, the State Department spokesman, Mr. Alan Romberg, confirmed that the aircraft had indeed been sent, while letting it be known that other AWACS aircraft could be sent to the region and that the United States was also considering the possibility of giving longer-term assistance to the Sudan for anti-aircraft defence.

21. These facts, taken in their chronological order, tell us a great deal about the underlying reasons for the air raid on Omdurman as well as the motives of those who devised the incident. The story, which slanderously attributed the crime to the Libyan Arab Jamahiriya, was soundly denounced and refuted before the Council yesterday by the Secretary of the People's Committee of the People's Bureau for Foreign Liaison of the Libyan Arab Jamahiriya. Would it not be more plausible to see in the raid a carefully contrived scenario to make it easier for the United States to put into effect its own belligerent and aggressive decisions to which I have already referred? The American press itself revealed these sinister designs. *The Christian Science Monitor* of 21 March expressed this very opinion.

22. The truth about the raid therefore comes down to this. A cold-blooded attack was carried out on a densely populated part of Omdurman, while the Jamahiriya was falsely accused of being responsible. The object was simply to justify the sending of American AWACS planes to countries bordering the Jamahiriya and to make it possible for the United States to send there even more military forces, weapons and aircraft, thus creating a serious threat to Libya's security and to the peace and security of the whole of north-eastern Africa.

23. The danger resulting from the hostile and provocative acts of the United States towards the Libyan Arab Jamahiriya is therefore real. This is not the first time the Jamahiriya has faced the serious threat of the use of force by the United States. On a number of occasions already AWACS planes have been sent to countries adjacent to the Jamahiriya and American warships have been sent to its territorial waters. On each occasion there has been no failure to provide circumstances to serve as a pretext.

24. Indeed, this is a very familiar trick in the repertoire of imperialism and international reaction. Viet Nam has already experienced such provocations, and therefore was able immediately fully to grasp the truth and to empathize completely with Libya in the face of the serious danger with which it is now threatened. In our case, it was the Gulf of Tonkin incident that in 1964 served as a pretext for the United States to launch its dirty war in Viet Nam—the longest and bloodiest in contemporary history.

25. What is the international community to do about the serious threat to the Jamahiriya?

26. First, we must strongly denounce and condemn the hostile, provocative acts of the United States towards the Libyan Arab Jamahiriya as well as the manoeuvres designed to exploit the internal problems of the Sudan and to cause divisions between various African and Arab countries in order to strengthen the American military presence and interference in north-eastern Africa. In this connection, my delegation is convinced that the countries concerned can withstand these treacherous manoeuvres and can be equal to the task of amicably settling their family quarrel within the Organization of African Unity and the League of Arab States.

27. Nevertheless, it should be noted that the present United States Administration is attempting to distract the attention of the American electors from the recent setbacks to United States gunboat diplomacy in Lebanon by provoking tensions and crises in various other parts of the world. That is why we are also seeing an increase of military manoeuvres and demonstrations of United States force in Central America, the Persian Gulf, north-eastern Asia and elsewhere.

28. Next, we believe, we should demand an immediate halt to the dispatch of aircraft and weapons to the States adjacent to the Libyan Arab Jamahiriya as well as to all provocative acts and threats to the sovereignty of the Jamahiriya and to the peace and security of the whole region.

29. Finally, we believe that we must express our firm support for the Libyan Arab Jamahiriya, which has every reason to bring its complaint here before the Council in the light of the serious danger it now faces and to claim its right to defend itself against any aggression coming from imperialist and reactionary forces.

30. Sir John THOMSON (United Kingdom): My delegation has listened with attention to the speeches intended to substantiate the charge made against the United States. We have smelt several red herrings being pulled across the trail. Having listened, we do not think there is any charge to answer. Accordingly, I shall say no more.

31. The PRESIDENT [*interpretation from Spanish*]: The next speaker is the representative of Poland. I invite him to take a place at the Council table and to make his statement.

32. Mr. NATORF (Poland): At the outset of my statement, I wish first of all to convey to the people and the Government of Guinea, as well as to the bereaved family, the condolences and words of profound grief of my delegation on the untimely passing away of President Sékou Touré, a great statesman and African leader.

33. May I now extend to you, Sir, the felicitations of my delegation on your assumption of the presidency of the Council for the current month. We are gratified to see the representative of a country with which my own country has traditionally enjoyed friendly and cordial relations presiding over these meetings. Your high diplomatic skill and experience are well known, and we are confident that under your leadership the Council will be able to discharge its responsibilities successfully.

34. I should also like to congratulate your predecessor, Mr. Shah Nawaz of Pakistan for the exemplary and efficient manner in which he guided the proceedings of the Council in the month of February.

35. The item on the agenda today is the letter dated 22 March 1984 from the representative of the Libyan Arab Jamahiriya addressed to the President of the Security Council. In this letter, as well as in a previous letter circulated on 21 March [*S/16425*], the attention of the Council and all the Member States is drawn to the dangers stemming from the grave situation currently prevailing on Libya's eastern frontiers as a result of political and military actions by the United States, including such actions as the continuous violations of Libyan airspace and territorial waters.

36. It is not the first time that the Council is considering a deteriorating situation near Libyan shores and frontiers.

37. Not very long ago—last year—the Council was seized of a similar complaint by Libya. As we all recall, in February 1983 the world watched with great attention and concern the dispatch of AWACS aircraft to a country neighbouring on Libya. It witnessed the deployment of the United States aircraft-carrier *Nimitz* accompanied by some other naval vessels. It saw other unprovoked acts that were coupled with unfriendly or openly hostile statements and a press campaign replete with false suggestions and alleged accusations disseminated without convincing evidence. In August 1983, the world again witnessed the deployment of a naval task force of the Sixth Fleet, with the nuclear aircraft-carrier *Eisenhower* included in the group. It saw the Bright Star manoeuvres, with the participation of United States land, sea and air forces close to Libya's borders.

38. Today AWACS aircraft are again flying reconnaissance missions. They are backed up by a group of fighter planes. Once again unfriendly statements are being intensified. Some of them were heard only recently in this chamber. And, as before, a campaign is being developed with the objective of dividing the Arab and African countries and to paint Libya black in the eyes of public opinion and accuse it of wrongdoing without proof.

39. Today, as before, we should like to point out that the United States is arrogating to itself the right to pass judgement on what is right and what is wrong in the conduct of other peoples and Governments. Since its record of gross violations of the norms of international law, including interference in the internal affairs of other States and acts of open aggression, such as in Central America, is well known, one might say that the moral qualifications of the judge are, to say the least, in doubt.

40. Beyond the shadow of a doubt, all these unfounded allegations constitute an integral part of a broadly designed propaganda offensive and discriminatory action that includes an economic boycott directed and concerted by some Western countries against Libya because of its determined and anti-imperialist policy. These actions and practices serve the United States objective of further strengthening its military presence, which has already been beefed up in the region, in order to make up for the failure of its policies in the Middle East. These acts illustrate the United States policy of dealing from a position of strength, a policy which is also being pursued in other regions of the world, such as in Central America, to name but one.

41. The policy of military threats, intimidation, flexing of military muscle, economic boycott and coercion that is being carried out by the United States cannot but cause us profound concern, for it poses a serious threat to peace and security not only in the region but also throughout the world.

42. It is the Council's duty to consider fully the dangers stemming from these activities, which are inconsistent with the provisions of the Charter of the United Nations and designed to serve strategic interests at the expense of others.

43. In conclusion, Mr. President, I wish to thank you and the other members of the Council for having granted my delegation's request to participate in this important debate and present our Government's point of view on the situation created by the continuing escalation of

military and political pressure aimed at the independent and anti-imperialist policy of a non-aligned State.

44. The PRESIDENT [*interpretation from Spanish*]: I should like to inform the members of the Council that I have received a letter dated 28 March [*S/16443*] from the representative of the Upper Volta. It reads as follows:

> "I have the honour to request, in accordance with rule 39 of the Security Council's provisional rules of procedure, that the Council extend an invitation to the representative of the Pan Africanist Congress of Azania in connection with the Council's consideration of the item before it."

If there are no objections, I shall take it that the Council agrees to extend an invitation to Mr. Gora Ebrahim under rule 39 of the provisional rules of procedure.

It was so decided.

45. The PRESIDENT [*interpretation from Spanish*]: I invite Mr. Ebrahim to take a place at the Council table and to make his statement.

46. Mr. EBRAHIM: Mr. President, allow me first and foremost most sincerely to thank you for giving me the opportunity to represent the oppressed, exploited and dispossessed people of Azania—a territory known by its colonial name, South Africa—to be present here this afternoon to participate in this important discussion in the Council.

47. I should also like to take this opportunity to congratulate you, Sir, on your assumption of the presidency of this Council for the current month. We, the oppressed people of South Africa, have been grateful to your country, Peru, for your stand against *apartheid* and racism.

48. The Pan Africanist Congress of Azania, the custodian of the genuine aspirations of the oppressed, exploited and dispossessed people of Azania, asked to address the Council during the current debate precisely because American involvement in Africa has been detrimental to the cause of liberation. Ever since the tide of independence began to surge on the African continent with the independence of Ghana—then known by its colonial name, the Gold Coast—Africans have pledged to rid the continent once and for all of all forms of colonialism, neo-colonialism, imperialism and racism. The tide of the African liberation struggle has been decisively and positively expanding in territory to free Africa. Today only Namibia and Azania remain under colonial domination.

49. Although Africa scored great gains in the anti-colonial struggle, the struggle was not an easy one, nor is it over. Moreover the burden of the struggle was borne by the people and their liberation movements in their respective countries. But those countries would not have been able effectively to carry out the liberation struggle alone, without the active support of the member States of the Organization of African Unity (OAU), and especially its Co-ordinating Committee for the Liberation of Africa. With the assistance given to these respective liberation movements by the Co-ordinating Committee in the past two decades, Africa has registered significant victories in the anti-colonial struggle.

50. The just struggle waged by the national liberation movements recognized by OAU was entirely within the scope and ideals of the Charter of the United Nations. The Charter upholds the right of all peoples to independence and self-determination.

51. Throughout the two decades of the just struggle for independence and self-determination of the African continent, a struggle supported by the United Nations and all peace- and justice-loving peoples the world over, what was the position assumed by the respective American Administrations?

52. None of the recognized liberation movements received any moral or material support from successive American Administrations. On the contrary, those genuine liberation movements, fighting for the same ideals that the founding fathers of the United States fought for, were branded, and continue to be branded, as terrorists.

53. In *apartheid* South Africa, every conceivable human right is being violated by law, and the connection between the present racist rulers and nazism is not only well known but documented. The United States, instead of totally isolating that international criminal, has been conniving with that Nazi-oriented régime. It claims that it follows a policy of "constructive engagement" with that régime. Under this so-called constructive engagement, the racist régime is pursuing with arrogance, and with this support, its aggressive destabilizing policy and compelling front-line and independent and neighbouring States to sign so-called non-aggression pacts. Moreover, the so-called constitutional proposals which the racists have come up with are not a step in the right direction, as is claimed by members of the Reagan Administration, but a move from institutionalized *apartheid* to constitutionalized *apartheid*.

54. The policy of the Reagan Administration in Africa has been either to protect colonialists or racists or to replace them politically and economically. United States policies never take into account the legitimate rights and aspirations of the wronged peoples of the continent. If they did, that country would long ago have invaded occupied Namibia and liberated the colonized people of Namibia from racist tyranny. Instead, the Reagan Administration chose to invade Grenada under the guise that the population of the island was oppressed or posed a threat to the United States, a super-Power. We fail to see how the people of Grenada, who could be easily accommodated in two apartment buildings on Manhattan island, could seriously threaten a super-Power unless it was very vulnerable.

55. On the other hand, the Libyan Arab Jamahiriya, especially after the September Revolution led by brother Muammar Qaddafi, was made a member of the Co-ordinating Committee for the Liberation of Africa. One of the criteria for membership of that Committee is experience and commitment to the cause of African liberation. Every recognized liberation movement on the African continent has received assistance from the Libyan Arab Jamahiriya, both through the Liberation Committee and bilaterally. Such assistance has greatly contributed to the cause of African liberation and will continue to do so to remove the last bastions of Fascist colonialism.

56. On the southern tip of the African continent, we are faced with the most vicious and discredited enemy the world has known since nazism. The Reagan Administration is engaged in a policy which is designed to assist that Nazi-like régime in breaking out of its total isolation, instead of championing the just rights of the oppressed, exploited and dispossessed people of Azania and Namibia. Instead of putting military, political and economic pressure on the racists, as called for by the international community, the Reagan Administration is busy undermining staunch supporters of the liberation struggles in Africa such as the Libyan Arab Jamahiriya. If the Reagan Administration is concerned about peace and stability in Africa, it should direct its attacks against the enemies of peace in Africa, the racist colonial régime of South Africa, and not against independent African States.

57. The PRESIDENT [*interpretation from Spanish*]: The next speaker is the representative of the German Democratic Republic. I invite him to take a place at the Council table and to make his statement.

58. Mr. OTT (German Democratic Republic): Deeply moved and full of grief, I desire at the very outset to express my sorrow at the decease of the President of Guinea, Ahmed Sékou Touré. The unforgettable contribution made by that outstanding statesman in the cause of peace, the unity of African States and progress deserves our highest appreciation. His resolute actions against all forms of colonialism and neo-colonialism and for the elimination of the crime of *apartheid* are a striking example of an African policy that is firm in its principles. In President Ahmed Sékou Touré we have lost a good friend of the German Democratic Republic. His memory will always be held in honour by the people and Government of my country.

59. Permit me to congratulate you, Sir, on your assumption of the presidency of the Council for the month of March and to wish you success in the discharge of this responsible office. We have the expectation that under your able guidance this important body will achieve a positive result in the deliberation of the issue on its agenda.

60. The appreciation of the delegation of the German Democratic Republic goes also to your predecessor, the representative of Pakistan, Mr. Shah Nawaz, who so excellently accomplished his task as President of the Council in the month of February.

61. And, finally, I should like through you, Mr. President, to extend my thanks to the members of the Council for giving me this opportunity to explain the point of view of the German Democratic Republic on the issue which is before us.

62. The German Democratic Republic follows with great concern the events and developments in the world which constitute a danger to international peace and security. At the same time, it directs all its efforts towards contributing to the improvement of international relations, the settlement of conflicts and the prevention of new ones. Today this task is much more urgent than ever before, in the light of the dangerously aggravated situation in the world. We therefore resolutely reject all attempts to exacerbate further this situation and stir up new tensions. Such peace-endangering attempts are nothing less than the expression of a policy pursued by the most aggressive circles of imperialism, in particular the United States, which is aimed at implementing hegemonic ambitions in whole regions of the world and obtaining arbitrarily fixed spheres of interest.

63. The sovereign rights of peoples in those regions are thus entirely denied to them, even trampled upon. The goal is the impediment and, if possible, the liquidation of social progress in developing countries, the guarantee of maintaining influence in the form of economic, military and political diktat. In this connection, quite often an attempt is made to aggravate problems existing in the relationship between individual States and to exploit them in the interest of imperialist policy.

64. The escalation of demonstrations of military might by the United States not only threatens sovereign developing countries and national liberation movements but is also directed against the socialist States. Its purpose is to divert simultaneously attention from the dangers arising from the stationing of medium-range missiles in Western Europe.

65. Mankind is thereby entering a new, perhaps the most dangerous, phase of its development. The deployment of nuclear first-strike weapons, whose range includes also the region of the Middle and Near East, is the expression of Washington's openly proclaimed goal of achieving strategic military superiority. Let me point to the fact that in Sicily, only a few hundred miles away from the Libyan coast, United States cruise missiles will become operational at the end of this month.

66. In the view of the German Democratic Republic, the most recent campaign launched against the Libyan Arab Jamahiriya also goes along those lines. It fits completely into the global concept of Washington and of the North Atlantic Treaty Organization. Those attacks against an Arab State again testify to the fact

that this region plays a particular role in the United States Administration's foreign-policy calculations and that the Arab State in question is persistently being exposed to a policy of interference and aggression. The range of that course goes from separate deals, designed to divide the Arab countries, and constant provocations to direct military intervention.

67. Since Washington has not been able to achieve its envisaged objectives in Lebanon, it now attempts to stir up fresh conflicts in other Arab areas. Obviously, the sending of AWACS spy planes and combat aircraft to the north-eastern African region is designed to suit that purpose. The concern of the Libyan Arab Jamahiriya with that threat is therefore shared by many States.

68. The adventurous actions undertaken by the United States in that region fit into the global policy of threat, and stir up tensions as well as efforts to stifle liberation movements. Repeated provocations against the Libyan Arab Jamahiriya are characteristic of such actions, as are the expansion of the military presence in the Middle East—that is, the naval presence off the coast of Lebanon—the military manoeuvres in Central America and the Caribbean, as well as the machinations against sovereign States in Africa and Asia.

69. How else could such action by the United States be described than as unconcealed implementation of the "big stick" or "gunboat" policy towards developing countries? Such a policy, as proved by historical experiences and the development of international relations at present, is doomed to failure. This is guaranteed by the anti-imperialist struggle of the peoples in the Caribbean and Central America, of Namibia and South Africa, of the Arab States and other regions of the world. The socialist States firmly stand at the side of all those who struggle against imperialist hegemony and all forms of colonialism and neo-colonialism and for social progress, freedom from any exploitation, for independence and a life in peace.

70. The German Democratic Republic continues persistently to follow a policy of peaceful co-operation and the peaceful settlement of disputes. This corresponds to a position that has been repeatedly expressed in proposals of the socialist States for the solution of conflicts. I may be permitted to recall that the States Parties to the Warsaw Treaty in their Prague Political Declaration have advocated the transformation of "the Mediterranean Sea into a zone of peace and co-operation" [*see S/15556, annex, III*].

71. In concluding my statement, I should like to assure the Libyan Arab Jamahiriya of the firm solidarity of the German Democratic Republic in the resolute rejection of all imperialist provocations and in the struggle for the preservation of its independence and national sovereignty.

72. The PRESIDENT [*interpretation from Spanish*]: The next speaker is the representative of Ethiopia. I invite him to take a place at the Council table and to make his statement.

73. Mr. IBRAHIM (Ethiopia): Yesterday the world learned of the sad news of the untimely death of one of the elder statesmen of Africa, President Ahmed Sékou Touré of the People's Revolutionary Republic of Guinea. Though the condolences of the people and Government of Ethiopia have already been offered to the people and Government of Guinea, as well as to the bereaved family, I feel it my duty to reiterate at this juncture and from this forum Africa's sense of loss.

74. On a happier note, I should like to congratulate you, Sir, on your assumption of the high office of President of the Council. Your performance and that of your predecessor, Mr. Shah Nawaz, the representative of Pakistan, who had provided the Council with wise and effective leadership, have earned both of you our admiration and respect.

75. Once again, the Libyan Arab Jamahiriya has come to the Council to complain of threats to its security and stability. This, as we all know, is not the first time that the Council has been seized of similar threats from the same sources against Libya. Again, this is not the first time many of us have participated in such debates in order to extend our solidarity to the people and Government of the Jamahiriya.

76. In view of the fact that the principle of the non-use or threat of use of force in the conduct of international relations as well as that of the peaceful settlement of disputes are firmly entrenched in the Charter of the United Nations and constitute the bedrock of the present system of inter-State relations, one would have hoped—indeed, expected—that those principles would be respected and followed in the situation under consideration. To our dismay, however, the preferred course of action appears to be to resort to a modern version of gunboat diplomacy, which some have characterized as AWACS diplomacy, the motivation of which is nothing but the intensely anti-Libyan stance of the present United States Administration.

77. As you, Sir, and the Council very well know and as the debates here yesterday and in the past have demonstrated, the state of relations among the countries of the north-eastern region of Africa is far from cordial. The imperatives of international peace and security dictate that under such circumstances each and all should exercise maximum restraint and reject foreign intervention. Nothing should therefore be done to aggravate the already tense and difficult situation. To our regret, however, what has so far taken place is directly contrary to what is dictated by the situation.

78. Instead of an easing of tension, we observe the exacerbation of tension through intensive propaganda campaigns and diplomatic confrontations. In place of the search for a peaceful solution, we see attempts at military solutions through the introduction of massive

and sophisticated military hardware, such as the AWACS, into the region. Indeed, the military weapons and the preparations that are currently under way are not only beyond the defence needs of the States in the region but seem to have very little to do with the defence of their sovereignty and territorial integrity.

79. Those preparations, coupled with the active military intervention of the United States in the region, is a source of great concern to Ethiopia and we believe it is aimed not only against Libya but against other States as well. As what happens there affects my country directly, we in Ethiopia therefore cannot remain indifferent to recent events in the region. Indeed, it is these same concerns that have prompted us to take part in the present debate and call upon one and all once again to exercise maximum restraint and seek the solution of their differences without the intervention of extra-regional Powers.

80. We have been told that the need for foreign intervention and the further aggravation of the tense situation in the region arose as a result of the bombing incident in Omdurman. As we all know, the Sudanese Government has charged the Libyan Government with responsibility. Libya, for its part, has categorically denied these charges. Fortunately or unfortunately, the contours of this debate have been blurred by reports in the international press. Even though this may not be the proper context to comment on the merits of the complaint of the Sudan against Libya, we are of the view that the Sudanese and Libyan complaints have an organic link. What the Council does on the Sudanese complaint, we believe, is bound to have an effect on the complaint by Libya.

81. We therefore believe it our duty to emphasize the need for caution and for any action by the Council to be based on adequate and verifiable data. We are also duty-bound to call upon our brothers in both the Sudan and Libya to settle their differences either bilaterally or through the good offices of the regional organizations in which they enjoy common membership. The militarization of those differences and the unwelcome intervention of an extra-regional Power is in the best interest of neither the Sudan nor Libya and indeed poses a threat to regional peace and security.

82. Mr. KRAVETS (Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic) [*interpretation from Russian*]: The delegation of the Ukrainian SSR would like to express its deeply felt condolences at the death of the President of the Republic of Guinea, Mr. Sékou Touré, an eminent son of Africa, who devoted his life to the liberation of his and other peoples of Africa from colonial domination, and was one of the founding members of OAU and the Movement of Non-Aligned Countries.

83. Mr. President, your country has been the first of the newly elected members of the Council to have had the honour to preside it, and for us your experience is particularly valuable. Observing carefully how skilfully and adeptly you are performing your difficult duties has taught us a great deal. I should like to thank you for this and also extend our heartfelt congratulations to you. I should like also to express our gratitude and congratulations to the representative of Pakistan, Mr. Shah Nawaz, for his efficient conduct of the Council's work last month.

84. This is not the first time that the Government of the Libyan Arab Jamahiriya has had to request the convening of the Security Council. Because of the constant threats, the policy of blackmail and the hostile actions by the United States toward the Libyan Arab Jamahiriya, that State has been forced to make such requests many times in the past. We need only remember the events of 1981, when United States fighter aircraft shot down two Libyan aircraft over the Gulf of Sidra, or the intimidating show of force by the United States Sixth Fleet off the coast of Libya last year.

85. Today, taking its out and out anti-Libyan campaign one step further, the United States has used a dubious pretext—if, indeed, this is not a pre-planned and pre-executed act of provocation—to bomb Omdurman, in the Sudan, a neighbour of Libya. It is absolutely typical that on the very day after this shocking act, which cost innocent lives, the skies of the Libyan Arab Jamahiriya and the airspace of neighbouring countries were darkened by sophisticated, modern electronic reconnaissance AWACS aircraft. Conjuring up the spectre of a so-called Libyan danger, the United States has created an air corridor into a country next to the Libyan Arab Jamahiriya, through which it has funnelled a great deal of modern weapons, military *matériel* and detachments of troops—all of which represent a serious threat to peace and security in that region and throughout the world. Brazen acts of espionage are taking place over the entire territory of the Libyan Arab Jamahiriya.

86. It was really quite astonishing to hear the representative of the United States revealing yesterday [*2521st meeting*] how well informed she was about when, how many and what kind of Libyan aircraft were flying over Libya's sovereign airspace.

87. Unfortunately, actions like these on the part of the United States are by no means isolated instances: they are simply links in a vast chain of aggressive military acts that form the policy of the present United States Administration. In the Persian Gulf, the United States ensures so-called freedom of navigation by threatening to shoot down aircraft which approach within five miles of its warships. Approaches to the ports of Nicaragua have been thickly strewn with magnetic mines. Yesterday, the representative of Nicaragua [*ibid.*] referred to the tens of millions of dollars that have been allocated by the United States Government for military assistance to those bandits whose sworn purpose is to topple the legitimate Government of Nicaragua. All this is being done under the guise of so-called humanitarian assistance to other countries. Humanitarianism American-style, like democracy American-style, apparently

still cannot even exist without some sort of direct military presence by the United States or other forms of intervention by that country. For some reason, the United States found it necessary to carry out three days of military manoeuvres in the territory of Honduras at the precise time when elections were being held in El Salvador.

88. One could go on listing such actions by the United States in all parts of the world—be it the Near East or the Far East, northern or southern Africa, Central America or the Caribbean.

89. The United States Administration has coolly arrogated to itself the right to determine whether the Government of any particular non-aligned country does or does not square with its concept of democracy. If it does not, then that Government is immediately ostracized. Governments that are bold enough to have their own positions and policies, differing from those of Washington, are more and more frequently now becoming subjects of pressure, malicious propaganda campaigns, provocation and even direct military intervention.

90. In practice, this imperialist policy of the United States is based on the already tried and tested organizational, material and technical foundations which facilitate intervention in the internal affairs of other countries. As an example, we need only refer to such organs and structures as the United States Rapid Deployment Forces and the recently formed united central military command. The sphere of duties of this central command comprises a considerable part of the Indian Ocean and the Persian Gulf and, in addition, 19 States of the Near East and North Africa. This is a threat which also directly affects the Libyan Arab Jamahiriya.

91. The delegation of the Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic fully shares the alarm voiced by the Libyan Arab Jamahiriya at this further deterioration of the situation in that area as a result of the hostile and provocative actions of the United States there. We support the Libyan people in their efforts to offset foreign intervention in the internal affairs of their country. An end must be put to these constant threats and blatant military actions against that country.

92. The PRESIDENT [*interpretation from Spanish*]: The next speaker is the representative of the Islamic Republic of Iran. I invite him to take a place at the Council table and to make his statement.

93. Mr. RAJAIE-KHORASSANI (Islamic Republic of Iran): As this is the first time my delegation has participated in Council deliberations under your presidency, Sir, I should like to congratulate you on the way in which you have been presiding over the Council. In spite of all the complicated problems usually created by the very nature of the Council, I am confident that the difficult task of presiding over the Council and handling its affairs will become very easy in your skilful hands, the hands of a distinguished, greatly experienced personality with a rich diplomatic background and a long political career.

94. I should like also to thank and congratulate your predecessor, Mr. Shah Nawaz, representative of Pakistan, on the masterly manner in which he conducted the affairs of the Council during the month of February.

95. The Council is meeting today in order to consider another stage in United States aggression and intervention against the Libyan Arab Jamahiriya. The Libyan Arab Jamahiriya is just one of the many countries in the world which are the targets of imperialist aggression. No one is better informed than you, Mr. President, about the role of the United States in Central America and in Latin America in general.

96. International crime is not confined simply to the resort to prohibited weapons. Intervention in the affairs of other nations; the imposition of puppet régimes upon other peoples, thereby trespassing upon and violating all their rights and prerogatives of sovereignty and independence; provocative military and intelligence operations which disturb the peace and security of innocent people—in which the United States is definitely a record-breaker: conspiratorial attempts against revolutionary and popular régimes such as that of Nicaragua; addressing other people by pointing guns at them; sending helicopter gunships to various parts of the world, as in the case of Tabas; dispatching naval terrorist groups; and resort to sophisticated modern piracy, as in the cases of Grenada and Lebanon: all of these acts are criminal acts, which, due to their magnitude, are often far beyond due consideration within international norms.

97. In order to get a general picture of the criminal record of the United States, I should like members to consider the records of the Security Council over the past two years. In 1982, the Council dealt with 29 items, 18 of which were related to direct or indirect involvement of the United States. In other words, more than 62 per cent of the year's work of the Council in 1982 consisted of nothing but consideration of the involvement of the foreign policy of the United States. The records of the Council show that in the year 1983, out of 32 items, 23 were related to the same American involvement. In other words, 71.85 per cent of the cases referred to the Council in 1983 concerned American foreign policy. This increase of about 10 per cent in United States involvement in international crimes is slightly higher than the annual rate of inflation in the United States. In other words, in spite of the billions of dollars of deficit, and in spite of unemployment and inflation, the record of the foreign policy makers is even more miserable than that of those who have been defining the economic policy of the United States. Despite this remarkable criminal record, United States officials still shamelessly accuse Libya of being behind every problem in the Middle East.

98. I should like all the distinguished, honest people in this chamber—Council members and audience alike—to consider the following two sentences and choose which is the more acceptable, the more realistic and the more honest statement. Sentence one: Libya is behind every international problem in the Middle East. Sentence two: The United States is behind every international problem in the Middle East. I leave it to your consciences to decide.

99. Take another couple of sentences. Sentence one: Libya is behind every international problem in Central America and the rest of Latin America. Sentence two: The United States is behind every international problem in Central America and the rest of Latin America.

100. We might, if we wish, consider another couple of sentences. Sentence one: Libya is alone responsible for major international problems in the Far East. Sentence two: The United States is alone responsible for major international problems in the Far East.

101. I am sure that every individual in this Chamber could produce many more pairs of sentences which would be as illuminating and as informative as the three pairs I have just put forward. Therefore, we really do not need to go into the details of political events and military occurrences in every part of the world; we only need to be very simple, ordinary people who can use their common sense. Very little knowledge is required to appreciate the criminal record of imperialism.

102. One asks oneself: What is the role of the United States AWACS in the Middle East? What are United States naval forces doing near Libyan waters? What are United States terrorist forces doing around the Persian Gulf and near the Arabian Sea? Please remember that the foregoing examples are merely a few cases of direct American military presence and involvement. We have not yet touched on any of the numerous examples of United States-orchestrated plots, conspiracies and provocations, which are usually carried out by surrogate régimes and American lackeys, at work against popular régimes, revolutionary Governments and liberation movements.

103. Can any member of the Council name one popular revolution towards which the United States has not been antagonistic and for the eradication of which the United States has not mobilized its sinister military, paramilitary and intelligence forces? Why is it that in the vicinity of every revolutionary country there is a neighbour which, in conformity with the foreign policy of the United States, does not miss any chance to act against that revolutionary, popular régime? In this context, Libya is not the only country which has such "friendly" neighbours: I am sure that the cases of Nicaragua and the Islamic Republic of Iran will not be forgotten.

104. With the present composition of the Security Council, it is far from practical to anticipate any constructive action by the Council to prevent American intervention and provocations in our area. I therefore do not propose anything to the Council, particularly when the United States is one of the arbiters, but I should like to warn the international forum against the arrogant policies of the United States. I wish also to assure the Council that the United States is going to suffer further defeats. It seems that the case of the Shah has not yet taught the United States the lesson that puppet régimes will be overthrown by their own people and that any edifice planned on such surrogate, servile systems will collapse and leave the United States Administration more frustrated. For this there is ample evidence: in Iran, in Lebanon, in Viet Nam, in Latin America and in every other site of American involvement.

105. We have no doubt that American plots and intrigues against the Islamic countries of North Africa, the Middle East and elsewhere will lead only to further American defeats and frustrations. We condemn all conspiracies, involvements, interventionist policies, provocations and the ill-fated, sinister military presence of the United States in our part of the world. We want all foreign forces, whether they be Russian or American, out of our area, and if the Council cannot meet this very important requirement, our people will do it.

106. We believe that the United States leaders must return to honesty and wisdom. Wisdom requires them to stop their interventions in other countries, to end their hegemony and to reconsider their foreign policies, instead of simply reviewing their plans and projects for supporting and preserving their puppets. Wisdom requires them to stop distorting facts and to stop misinforming and misleading their own people. The American public is suffering from misinformation.

107. I submitted a questionnaire to a group of American intellectuals who have a very important role in that society. I do not need to name them, and probably I cannot do so, because the names are not on the questionnaire. I asked them to name five countries in the Middle East and North Africa which are known to be pro-American, which maintain very good relations with the American Government and whose régimes enjoy popular support. It was a very difficult question, was it not? The answers that some of those intellectuals gave me were very interesting. They named the following countries: Egypt, the Sudan, Jordan, Morocco and —interestingly enough—Syria. They simply don't know that Syria is well known for its anti-American position and is a member of the front-line countries, and therefore cannot be regarded as a pro-American country. From the viewpoint of these American intellectuals, Syria is a very pro-American country which has very good relations with the United States and therefore has popular support. That is the level of the political knowledge of some highly important personalities in the United States who, I can assure the Council, have a determining role in that country's policies. It

may be understood how dangerous the situation is. The danger results simply from the fact that misinformation is the function of the American Administration. This must come to an end. Honest information must be given to the American people so that they can participate honestly.

108. Finally, the Islamic Republic of Iran fully supports the people and the Government of Libya in their just struggle against American imperialism. We expect at least some members of the Council to side with the revolutionary people of Libya against the United States and its lackeys. We expect at least some members of the Council honestly to adhere to the principles of the Charter of the United Nations and to condemn the American interventionist policies as a major threat to international peace and security. Therefore, I expect all those good members not to curtail their full and unreserved support for the Libyan Arab Jamahiriya.

109. The PRESIDENT [*interpretation from Spanish*]: The next speaker is the representative of Bulgaria, whom I invite to take a place at the Council table and to make his statement.

110. Mr. GARVALOV (Bulgaria): At the very beginning, I should like to express the sincere and profound sympathy and condolences of the Bulgarian delegation on the untimely passing away of President Ahmed Sékou Touré of Guinea. I should like to tell you, Mr. President, and through you the people and the Government of Guinea, that President Sékou Touré, who was one of the founders of the Movement of Non-Aligned Countries, will remain in our hearts and will always be remembered as a steadfast and indefatigable fighter against the remnants of colonialism in Africa and as a true son of its heroic people.

111. Although this is the end of the current month, I should like to extend to you, Sir, my most heartfelt congratulations and express my satisfaction at seeing you preside over the work of the Council. Your extensive knowledge in the realm of international affairs and your well-proven professional qualifications are making a valuable contribution to solving the problems facing the Council. You represent a country with which my country maintains relations of great cordiality and co-operation.

112. I should like also to express my gratitude to the President of the Security Council for the month of February, the representative of Pakistan, Mr. Shah Nawaz, for the exemplary way in which he conducted the Council's proceedings.

113. The Bulgarian delegation is grateful to you, Sir, and the other members of the Council for having allowed it to participate in the current debate. We are acquainted with the letter of the representative of the Libyan Arab Jamahiriya drawing the attention of the Council

> "to the serious ongoing events resulting from the dispatch of weapons and aircraft of the United States to States adjacent to Libya with the intention of spying on Libyan territory and preparing to launch aggression against it" [*S/16431*].

114. We are also aware of Libya's concern that there exists a dangerous situation along its eastern frontiers as a result of the aggressive practices of the United States against the Libyan Arab Jamahiriya.

115. Of course, the Council is also aware of the fact that Libya brought a legitimate complaint before it last year, when United States actions threatened its sovereignty and independence.

116. The Council is now convened as a result of yet another dangerous development that obviously transcends its local geographical character and has, in my delegation's view, a direct bearing on the extremely tense situation prevailing in the Middle East. What we are witnessing at present is yet another attempt of the imperialist forces to destabilize the Arab world, to exert pressure on those who consistently, and as a matter of principle, oppose new colonialist machinations and Zionist acts of aggression. It is no accident that once again the Libyan Arab Jamahiriya has been selected as the target because it steadfastly defends the just cause of the Arab people.

117. Libya has for some time now, and rightly so, been complaining to the Council about the provocative and aggressive actions of the United States against it, including continuous violations of Libyan airspace and territorial waters, economic boycott and misleading information campaigns. Those hostile acts against the Libyan Arab Jamahiriya are a clear violation of the principles and norms of international law.

118. The history of the Middle East question—and particularly its most recent history—unequivocally shows that the imperialist forces have been making all efforts to split the unity of the Arab nations and to impose on them their economic, military and political diktat. Their behind-the-scenes diplomacy goes hand in hand with the policies of open aggression and military blackmail, as practised by the United States and Israel.

119. The latest imperialist action against Libya is a logical sequence of this approach. Its aim is to foster the military psychosis in a sensitive region which is in close proximity to other regions with hotbeds of tension. And, of course, a basic objective of the imperialist forces is to divert the attention of the international community from their recent fiasco in the Middle East and to counteract that failure by increasing their military presence and exerting pressure upon States and nations in that part of the world that are not to their liking. The almost automatic decision to send sophisticated new American weapons and other military equipment, including two AWACS aircraft, to be used against Libya cannot but be construed as yet another

muscle-flexing move by the United States in an attempt to change the balance of forces in the Middle East.

120. This military, political and propaganda operation clearly stands out against the background of the defeat of the military intervention in Lebanon. Naturally, this is not an incidental action prompted by various circumstances. Rather, it is an official policy predicated on the use of brutal military force. The shelling of Lebanese villages by a United States naval force, massive air raids, the Marines' landings in Lebanon and Grenada, the aggressive actions against Nicaragua and Cuba and in the Horn of Africa—all are most eloquent examples of that official policy. The current campaign against the Libyan Arab Jamahiriya is a link in the same chain. It is inspired by the same vested interests and is part of the well-known mechanism of aggression.

121. The Bulgarian delegation believes that this serious situation—which the Libyan Minister for Foreign Affairs, Mr. Ali Treiki, brought to the attention of the Council in all seriousness and in a most responsible manner—is a threat to peace and security in the region and in the world as well.

122. As far as the position of the People's Republic of Bulgaria on this question of principle is concerned, it was only recently reiterated by the Secretary-General of the Central Committee of the Bulgarian Communist Party and President of the Council of State of the People's Republic of Bulgaria, Todor Zhivkov, on 8 March last during his official visit to the Libyan Arab Jamahiriya at the invitation of the leader of the Revolution of 1 September, Colonel Muammar Qaddafi. In his speech Todor Zhivkov said, among other things:

> "The critical situation in the Middle East and the vital interests of the Arab nations require strengthening the unity and united action of all the Arab countries and forces fighting against imperialism and zionism."

123. Guided by the desire to see that this military threat hanging over the Libyan people and other peoples in the region is removed, the Bulgarian delegation supports the request of the Libyan Arab Jamahiriya that the Security Council, which bears primary responsibility for the maintenance of international peace and security in the world, "must draw the attention of the United States Administration to the dangerousness of its aggressive and provocative policy towards the Jamahiriya and in the region" [*see S/16425*].

124. The Bulgarian delegation also shares the view that what is needed at present is common sense, goodwill and concerted efforts by all States concerned, as well as by the international community, in order to prevent a new military confrontation in the region the consequences of which might indeed be unpredictable.

125. The PRESIDENT [*interpretation from Spanish*]: The next speaker is the representative of the Lao People's Democratic Republic. I invite him to take a place at the Council table and to make his statement.

126. Mr. KITTIKHOUN (Lao People's Democratic Republic) [*interpretation from French*]: It was with great regret and sadness that we learned of the sudden death of President Ahmed Sékou Touré, the eminent head of State of the People's Revolutionary Republic of Guinea. We should like, through you, Sir, to convey our sincere condolences to the Government and the people of Guinea, as well as to the family of the late President.

127. Since this is the first time I have spoken in the Council, we congratulate you, Sir, on your assumption of the presidency for this month. Aware as we are of your broad experience and your great qualities as a diplomat, we are sure that the Council's work under your guidance will provide successful results.

128. We also take this opportunity to congratulate your predecessor, the representative of Pakistan, on the competent manner in which he guided the Council's deliberations last month.

129. We cannot begin setting forth our delegation's point of view without first sincerely thanking all the members of the Council who were kind enough to afford us this opportunity to participate in this very important debate.

130. The dangerous situation that has arisen along the eastern border of the Libyan Arab Jamahiriya following the sending there of two AWACS radar aircraft and fighter planes by the Government of the United States to carry out espionage activities in Libyan territory requires the attention of the Council. The speedy dispatching of such sophisticated aircraft to carry out activities of this kind over the territory of a Member State is a violation of the Charter of the United Nations and will only further exacerbate the tension prevailing in that sensitive part of the world.

131. As the Secretary of the People's Committee of the People's Bureau for Foreign Liaison of the Libyan Arab Jamahiriya reminded us this morning [*2522nd meeting*] this is not the first time the Libyan Government has come to the Council to reveal to the world the policies of aggression of a great imperialist Power. Those policies have been pursued against his Government and people since 1969, since the great September revolution.

132. In responding to that policy of aggression, the Libyan Arab Jamahiriya is not alone, as some circles might believe or wish it to be. At a special meeting on 28 August 1981, at which it considered the serious situation arising from provocative naval manoeuvres conducted by the United States Navy off the Libyan coast, the Co-ordinating Bureau of the Movement of Non-Aligned Countries expressed its full solidarity with the Jamahiriya and made an appeal to all non-

aligned countries to resist the provocations and challenges, which were a most dangerous precedent in international relations.

133. Not so very long ago we too were victims of American aggression, and for that reason we thoroughly sympathize with the Libyan complaint. Under the leadership of the Lao People's Revolutionary Party, our people inflicted a humiliating defeat on the occupying forces and their lackeys in 1975 and succeeded in liberating our country completely and establishing a new régime. We had hoped that a new era of peace, freedom and justice would result. But since then our people, like the Libyan people, have become a target for the reprehensible plans for subversion and sabotage being perpetrated by the imperialists in collusion with the hegemonists.

134. The imperialist strategy to dominate the world —and there can be no doubt about this—has been and indeed always will be perfectly clear. To carry out this treacherous strategy, imperialism strikes—or waits for a right opportunity to strike—all peoples that are unwilling to accept its policies and to serve its interests. No campaign of disinformation or calumny can hide that insatiable appetite. But the winds of change continue to blow, and peoples remain unswerving in defence of their freedom and in their struggle for emancipation.

135. We are supposed to believe that the sending of AWACS radar aircraft and American fighter planes was linked to an alleged Libyan attack in the southern part of a neighbouring country. This old argument, which has been trotted out once again, is all too familiar to the members of the Council. It will be recalled that those in charge of American defence declared last year that the movements of the American Sixth Fleet and AWACS aircraft were linked to the alleged mobilization of Libyan forces along its border with the Sudan and a planned intervention in that country and that the movements of AWACS aircraft were part of joint manoeuvres with Egyptian troops. Curiously, following that declaration, the Egyptian Government denied the existence of any such manoeuvres. On 18 February 1983, *The Christian Science Monitor* even declared that Egyptian leaders had said that they knew nothing about any recent Libyan mobilization against the Sudan. That is the kind of fabrication that has been concocted against Libya. Imperialism has been trying to deceive the world with such fabrications to prepare it for its attacks on the Libyan Arab Jamahiriya.

136. Yesterday, when the Council was considering the Sudan's complaint, which enjoys the vigorous support of the United States, my delegation did not intend to participate in the debate. As a small country with a population of nearly 4 million, it is our strong intention vigorously to defend the sacrosanct principles of the Charter, in particular the non-use of force and non-interference in the internal affairs of other countries. But in that particular case, notwithstanding the long but shaky complaint of the plaintiff, there remain serious doubts about the facts. In support of the outlandish allegation of Libyan aggression, presumptions have been the basis of argument, not facts. If in fact damage has been caused, there has been no proof that such damage was caused by Libyan aircraft.

137. Arguments are valid only when based on concrete facts, and, frankly, my delegation has considerable difficulty understanding or following the logic that has been used in speedily providing every support, including military support, to the plaintiff, whose accusations against the Libyan Arab Jamahiriya are based on unlikely hypotheses. The Libyan Arab Jamahiriya is a small country that cherishes peace and is proud of its independence and its steadfast support for the movements of peoples struggling to be free.

138. The United States is often placed in an awkward position because of its warlike behaviour, and there are good reasons to believe that the United States, in its dispute with the small but courageous Libyan Arab Jamahiriya, is engaged in exploiting to the maximum in its favour the complaint of the Sudan in order to score political and diplomatic points. The startling announcement of the dispatch of the AWACS radar aircraft and support interceptors near the Libyan Arab Jamahiriya, which is very revealing of the attitude of the United States that it should be policeman to the world, has therefore very little to do with the attack in the southern Sudan that has been referred to. This rapid dispatch of AWACS radar aircraft is actually an integral part of America's policy against the Libyan Arab Jamahiriya and is not an isolated act or one of happenstance.

139. In support of his thesis—which we consider to be quite likely—in his statement in the Council in February 1983, when presenting his complaint, the representative of Libya quoted the following passage from *The New York Times*: "The plan, according to American officials, was to lure Libya into striking and then to destroy as much of its air force as possible" [*2415th meeting, para. 26*].

140. In the final analysis, the Government of the United States has long been persistently preparing American and world public opinion for its acts of aggression against the Libyan Arab Jamahiriya. But the world will not be taken in by this. Neither eloquence nor demagoguery can possibly conceal the truth. In view of its military power and harassed by its deep-seated hatred of the peoples of the world which refuse to bow to its will, the United States Government, to the surprise of all peace-loving States, has already launched a serious invasion against the small island of Grenada, after long years of patient and active preparation. Hence, there is every reason to believe that, encouraged by this legendary victory over Grenada, the United States Government, in its machiavellian plans, to put down with the use of force any hint of resistance anywhere, is now eyeing another target—the Libyan people—as it tries to realize its ambition for world hegemony.

141. All the anti-Libyan propaganda in the Council should deceive no one. It is part of the litany in which some imperialist circles have customarily engaged in order to conceal the facts and divert attention. The alleged Libyan aggression against its neighbours exists only in the minds of those who disregard both the facts and the likelihood of hypotheses. In our humble opinion, this myth is truly a figment of one's imagination, for Libya has only about 3 million inhabitants and it is unlikely that it would invade its two neighbours to the east whose populations number 70 million. Resorting to sophistry and rhetorical flourishes to divert public opinion from the true problem or the real situation prevailing in that part of the world is like trying to put out a fire but ignoring its source.

142. In support of the struggle of the Libyan people, we would ask the Council, which is responsible for the maintenance of international peace and security, to take appropriate action to put an end to these imperialist adventurous machinations. That would pave the way for the Libyan people to pursue its development and national reconstruction in peace, freedom and honour.

143. The PRESIDENT [*interpretation from Spanish*]: I should like to inform the members of the Council that I have just received a letter from the representative of the Sudan in which he requests to be invited to participate in the discussion of the item on the agenda. In accordance with the usual practice, I propose, with the consent of the Council, to invite that representative to participate in the discussion without the right to vote, in conformity with the relevant provisions of the Charter and rule 37 of the provisional rules of procedure.

At the invitation of the President, Mr. Birido (Sudan) took a place at the Council table.

144. The PRESIDENT [*interpretation from Spanish*]: I call on the representative of the Sudan, who wishes to exercise the right of reply.

145. Mr. BIRIDO (Sudan) [*interpretation from Arabic*]: We have asked to be allowed to speak in exercise of the right of reply because of the references made to the Sudan by Mr. Ali Treiki, the Secretary of the People's Committee of the People's Bureau for Foreign Liaison, and others speakers, and should like to make the following observations.

146. First, having listened yesterday to the statement by the Minister for Foreign Affairs of my country in the Council [*2520th meeting*] concerning the aggression launched by the Libyan Arab Jamahiriya—an air raid against our national capital—I need not dwell at length on the subject. The Sudan, with all objectivity and tranquillity, has presented the full facts to the representatives of the international community in this forum. The statements by some members of the Council and other friendly and fraternal countries have shed more light on the seriousness of the air raid as an act of aggression and a flagrant violation of the Charter of the United Nations and the charters of the regional organizations and norms of international law, as well as a threat to the security, sovereignty and territorial integrity of the Sudan. Out of respect for the Council and so as not to waste its time, we shall not reiterate the facts of the case.

147. Secondly, the complaint by Libya was lodged immediately after the complaint by the Sudan to the Council in which it, having conclusive evidence, charged Libya with responsibility for the air raid against Omdurman. Therefore Libya requested the convening of the Council in order to divert attention from its aggression against the Sudan and to create a smoke-screen to hide the facts in a desperate attempt to let its aggression pass unheeded and to deceive world public opinion.

148. Thirdly, this is not the first time that Libya has resorted to such a practice. The records of the Council prove beyond any doubt how, for the same reasons we have just mentioned, Libya attempted, after Chad's complaint against it last year, to call for the convening of the Council to consider its complaint against a permanent member of the Council. Today is just like yesterday and we are fully confident that the representatives of the international community will not be deceived by such methods and practices.

149. Fourthly, Sudan's resort to friendly sister countries for the provision of the means to defend its territory and citizens is a legitimate right ensured by the charters of regional organizations, the Charter of the United Nations and the principles of international law, particularly as it has become evident that the flagrant intervention in its internal affairs is part of the ongoing efforts to undermine its security, national unity and stability, as well as the development projects on its territory.

150. In conclusion, the Sudan, which has reiterated its belief in the priorities of reconstruction and development, in the necessity to mobilize energy for comprehensive development objectives and in the rejection of aggression and interference in the internal affairs of others, emphasizes that the observance by others of those priorities will contribute to achieving the necessary potential and ensuring the benefit of all people. If Libya had adhered to these principles and objectives, there would have been no need to have convened a meeting of the Council yesterday and there would never have been any justification for convening a meeting today, because the whole question is one of flagrant and continued aggression and a desperate attempt to hide it.

151. The PRESIDENT [*interpretation from Spanish*]: The Secretary of the People's Committee of the People's Bureau for Foreign Liaison of the Libyan Arab Jamahiriya has asked to speak. I invite him to make his statement.

152. Mr. TREIKI (Libyan Arab Jamahiriya) [*interpretation from Arabic*]: I regret to have to speak at this late hour. I promise to be brief. I only wanted to clarify some matters in the light of what was said by the representative of the United States this morning.

153. What he said this morning in such a cavalier way—that the AWACS aircraft are unarmed planes, spy planes that are being sent to other countries to spy on them and to prepare the ground for aggression, and that the Security Council should condone such behaviour—reminded me of the time when, after the General Assembly passed a resolution condemning the United States invasion of Grenada, President Reagan said that he suffered no loss of appetite as a result. That reminded me to what extent the United States or its Administration cares about the United Nations or the Security Council.

154. Many friends here have referred to the long list of condemnations of the United States Administration by the Council and by the United Nations in general, but pride of its military force and the desire to dominate have prevented that Administration from seeing things as they are and from respecting the United Nations. The United States seems to have forgotten that even though the United Nations, because of circumstances and in spite of the scores of resolutions condemning that country, is incapable of deterring its aggression, the people themselves can bring this about. I should like to remind the representative of the United States of what happened in Viet Nam, in Iran, in Cuba and in Lebanon.

155. He may also recall that when the United States tried to invade Libya in 1805 and sent in its destroyer *Philadelphia*, under the command of Captain Bainbridge, that ship was destroyed off the Libyan coast, thus putting an end to United States aggression. To this very day, however, the anthem of the United States Marines contains the words "From the halls of Montezuma to the shores of Tripoli". I should like to remind him—perhaps he was in the United States Marines—that the anthem still exists. May I remind him also that when, in the same year, the United States tried to invade Libya from the east in an expedition led by General Eaton, the expedition was destroyed at Derna. History can repeat itself.

156. We are a small people. We have resort to the United Nations, whose Charter and resolutions we respect, but we are determined to live in freedom and to die with our boots on. We shall not bow to threats or aggression. Let our enemies realize that we are fully determined to thwart any American aggression against any Arab territory. The defeat inflicted upon the United States by the small heroic people of Lebanon will be suffered by it again, this time at the hands of the people of the Sudan and of Libya and by all the Arab peoples.

157. As the representative of the Islamic Republic of Iran said, we know that although the Council is well aware of the danger represented by the policy of invasion, aggression and interference practised by the United States, it cannot now take the proper decisions; but the day will come when the Council will be able to shoulder its responsibilities *vis-à-vis* the maintenance of international peace and security.

158. This recklessness and nonchalance, these constant acts of aggression against small countries and peoples are part of an invariable, systematic policy pursued by the United States Administration. What would the world be like if that Administration were the only one having any strength? That would mean the total destruction of our world. The people of Japan are still suffering from the destructive consequences of the nuclear attack which occurred when the United States was the only country possessing the nuclear weapon. What would happen today in the world if the United States Administration were still the only one possessing the nuclear weapon?

159. I should now like to comment on something said by my brother, the representative of the Sudan—I say "my brother" because, while one chooses one's friends, one cannot choose one's brother. He said that the complaint of the Libyan Arab Jamahiriya had been presented as a reaction to the complaint made by the Sudan. That is quite true. We did present our complaint after the dispatching of American forces and the AWACS aircraft to the Sudan. But we did not do that to hide the truth in any way. In conformity with the mutual defence pact of the League of Arab States, both the Sudan and the Libyan Arab Jamahiriya are duty-bound to struggle against the United States aggression.

160. The representative of the Sudan referred to the assistance of friendly, fraternal countries. He did not, however, say that the United States was a friendly country. He could not say that, because the United States is in fact an enemy of the Sudan, just as it is an enemy of Palestine, the Libyan Arab Jamahiriya, Nicaragua and other countries. What friendly countries did he have in mind? Was he referring to those who helped the Zionists to occupy Palestine? Was he referring to those who bombed the Egyptian people and tried to destroy them? Was he referring to those who helped the Zionist entity to occupy southern Lebanon? Have these enemies suddenly become the friends of the Arab nation? They will become friends only if they change their policy and choose a policy serving justice.

161. The representative of the Sudan says they are friends because they gave assistance to the Sudan. But assistance against whom? I consider that a régime is doomed that cannot defend itself from its own people but seeks help from a foreign country which is an enemy of its country and people; it certainly does not deserve to represent the people that it claims to represent.

162. Is it compatible with the policy of non-alignment to ask for assistance from the United States, a country friendly to South Africa and Israel and which is stirring up antagonism against a sister Arab country? I put that

question to the representative of the Sudan: I dare him to state publicly that the United States is friendly to the Sudan. For, in his heart of hearts, he knows that he cannot say it.

163. The hostile United States policy of aggression against the Arabs, Muslims, Africans, and other people of the third world is doomed to failure. Arrogance has its limits. We witnessed the fate reserved for Hitler, and we shall witness the fate reserved for American aggression.

The meeting rose at 7 p.m.

UNITED NATIONS

SECURITY COUNCIL
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THIRTY-NINTH YEAR

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NOTE

Symbols of United Nations documents are composed of capital letters combined with figures. Mention of such a symbol indicates a reference to a United Nations document.

Documents of the Security Council (symbol S/. . .) are normally published in quarterly *Supplements* of the *Official Records of the Security Council*. The date of the document indicates the supplement in which it appears or in which information about it is given.

The resolutions of the Security Council, numbered in accordance with a system adopted in 1964, are published in yearly volumes of *Resolutions and Decisions of the Security Council*. The new system, which has been applied retroactively to resolutions adopted before 1 January 1965, became fully operative on that date.

2524th MEETING

Held in New York on Friday, 30 March 1984, at 12.40 p.m.

President: Mr. Javier ARIAS STELLA (Peru).

Present: The representatives of the following States: China, Egypt, France, India, Malta, Netherlands, Nicaragua, Pakistan, Peru, Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic, Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland, United States of America, Upper Volta, Zimbabwe.

Provisional agenda (S/Agenda/2524/Rev.1)

1. Adoption of the agenda

2. The situation between Iran and Iraq:
   Report of the specialists appointed by the Secretary-General to investigate allegations by the Islamic Republic of Iran concerning the use of chemical weapons (S/16433)

The meeting was called to order at 12.45 p.m.

Adoption of the agenda

The agenda was adopted.

The situation between Iran and Iraq:
Report of the specialists appointed by the Secretary-General to investigate allegations by the Islamic Republic of Iran concerning the use of chemical weapons (S/16433)

1. The PRESIDENT [*interpretation from Spanish*]: Members of the Council have before them document S/16433, which contains the text of the report of the specialists appointed by the Secretary-General to investigate allegations by the Islamic Republic of Iran concerning the use of chemical weapons.

2. I should like to draw the attention of members of the Council to the following documents: S/16438, containing a letter dated 27 March 1984 from the representative of Iraq to the Secretary-General; and S/16446 and S/16447, each containing a letter dated 27 March 1984 from the representative of the Islamic Republic of Iran to the Secretary-General.

3. On behalf of the members of the Council, I am authorized to make the following declaration:

"The members of the Security Council, having considered again the question entitled 'The situation between Iran and Iraq', and greatly concerned about the conflict which endangers international peace and security in the region, have taken note of the report of the specialists appointed by the Secretary-General to investigate allegations by the Islamic Republic of Iran concerning the use of chemical weapons [*S/16433*].

"They note with particular concern the unanimous conclusions of the specialists that chemical weapons have been used. Furthermore, they express their grave concern about all reported violations in the conflict of the rules of international law and of the principles and rules of international conduct accepted by the world community to prevent or alleviate the human suffering of warfare and affirm strongly the conclusion of the Secretary-General that these humanitarian concerns can only be fully satisfied by putting an end to the tragic conflict that continues to deplete the precious human resources of Iran and Iraq.

"The members of the Council:

"—Strongly condemn the use of chemical weapons reported by the mission of specialists;

"—Reaffirm the need to abide strictly by the provisions of the Protocol for the prohibition of the use in war of asphyxiating, poisonous or other gases, and of bacteriological methods of warfare, signed at Geneva on 17 June 1925;[1]

"—Call on the States concerned scrupulously to adhere to the obligations flowing from their accession to the Geneva Protocol of 1925;

"—Condemn all violations of international humanitarian law and urge both parties to observe the generally recognized principles and rules of international humanitarian law which are applicable to armed conflicts and their obligations under international conventions designed to prevent or alleviate the human suffering of warfare;

"—Recall relevant resolutions of the Security Council, renew urgently their calls for the strict observance of a cease-fire and for a peaceful solution of the conflict and call upon all Governments concerned to co-operate fully with the Council in its efforts to bring about conditions leading to a peaceful settlement of the conflict in conformity with the principles of justice and international law;

"—Appreciate the mediation efforts of the Secretary-General and request him to continue his efforts with the parties concerned, with a view to achieving a comprehensive, just and honourable settlement acceptable to both sides; and

"—Decide to keep the situation between Iran and Iraq under close review."

4. The Security Council has thus concluded the present stage of its consideration of the item on its agenda. The Council will remain seized of the matter.

The meeting rose at 12.55 p.m.

NOTE

[1] League of Nations, *Treaty Series*, vol. XCIV (1929), No. 2138.

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